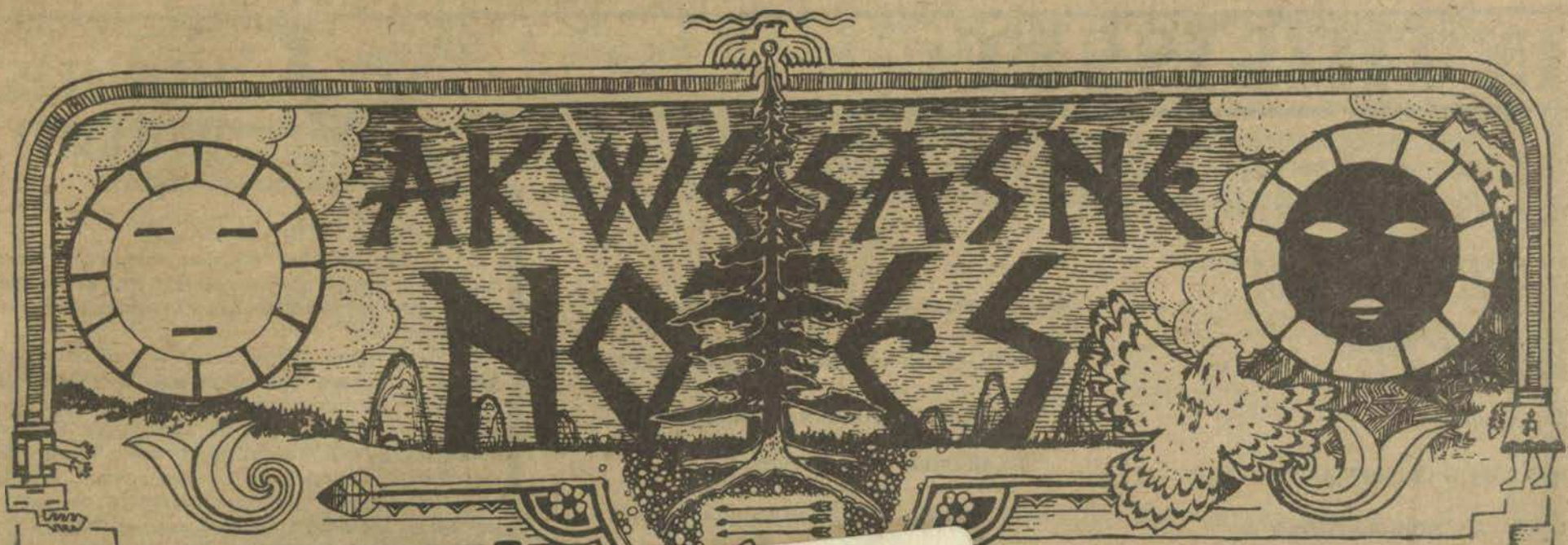




Volume 12, Number 3

SHACKELTON, RAY

AN

Circulation: 100,000

RD 1 BOX 146  
BRISTOL

VT 05443

News-stand Price: \$1.25



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

LATE SUMMER ISSUE - AUGUST, 1980

AKWESASNE NOTES cover Tracy Thomas



# IN THIS ISSUE:



HOW IT IS  
WITH US

|                                                                   |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| MOHAWK NATION – SUMMER 1980 ....                                  | 4  |
| BIG MONEY, NUCLEAR PLANS BEHIND<br>SQUEEZE AT MOHAWK NATION ..... | 10 |
| THOUGHTS OF PEACE<br>THE GREAT LAW .....                          | 12 |
| SHORT NOTES .....                                                 | 15 |
| MARXISM IS A EUROPEAN TRADITION .....                             | 17 |
| CERT – AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW .....                                   | 19 |
| DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE<br>ON THE LAND .....                    | 23 |
| CHILDREN'S NOTES .....                                            | 24 |
| OPPOSITION MOUNTS AT BURNHAM .....                                | 25 |

|                                                     |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|
| GUATEMALA: AN INDIAN DENOUNCES .....                | 26 |
| PERU – CAMPA NATION CALLS FOR HELP .....            | 28 |
| BRAZIL: NAMBIQUARAS & WORLD BANK .....              | 29 |
| SOLAR ENERGY – THE INDIAN WAY .....                 | 30 |
| NEW MEXICO: CHICANOS & URANIUM<br>DEVELOPMENT ..... | 31 |
| OGALALA SUE FOR BLACK HILLS .....                   | 33 |



**AKWESASNE  
NOTES**

ISSN 0002 3949

AKWESASNE NOTES is published five times annually: March, May, July, September, and December. It is published by the Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and at locations near Roosevelttown, New York, and Malone, New York.

2ND CLASS POSTAGE Paid at Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683 and at Additional Mailing Office, USPS 956640.

USPS 956-640

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES  
Mohawk Nation  
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683  
(518) 358-9531

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalish Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972). Member: Alternative Press Syndicate.

This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication  
of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne.

## THE AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE:

Deli, Diane, Martha, Rosannes, Ray, Beverly, "Quill", Kaientares, Laka, Julius, Segwalise, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Peachie, Beni, Luz, Jose, Carol and John, and Ronnie.

NEEDED FOR NOTES: AA penlight batteries, winter clothing of all sizes, S13 hearing aid batteries, baby clothes, film (black and white) for a 35mm camera, file folders, desk organizers, office supplies, warm blankets and medical supplies.

TOTAL COSTS FOR THIS ISSUE WILL EXCEED \$15,000. It will reach some 300,000 people. Help the AKWESASNE NOTES survive. If you are one of those people who have been meaning to send us money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can continue to produce it.

## A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501-C-3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

Since our last issue, we have reasons for great celebration, growth, and apprehension. And we are still uneasy about the possible outcome of our situation with New York State.

First, our reason for celebration is a gift from the Creator of a new life. Atirondak or "Quill," a wonderfully healthy little boy, was born on the mountaintop this June, just five days before the New York State again surrounded the Mohawk Nation with their threats of violence. He is an ever constant, smiling sorce of happiness and a reminder of the seven generations to come for whom we wage our struggles.

Growth is the element of Spring and Summer which reenforces our gratitude to the Creator for the natural cycles. In spite of lack of rain for part of the season, our gardens are flourishing. We are busy drying and canning vegetables. The wild strawberries appeared and we made wild strawberry jam, sweetened with the maple syrup we had made earlier.

It is wild blueberry season now. Some great friends have taken the children blueberry picking. A sad irony of our work with the newspaper is that sometimes we miss the chance to do things like pick blueberries. We go to press today and hopefully there will be some blueberries left for us to pick tomorrow. We canned blueberries and made blueberry jam sweetened with honey.

There has been apprehension and uneasiness this past year. The Mohawk people have been in a state of siege for over a year now. The strength of a true people comes through in the midst of oppression and we can see that our forefathers faced great struggles that enabled us to exist today, even as we face these new struggles for the next generation. That the People should continue – for that we are thankful.

On June 13 and the days following, it was heartwarming that in this so-called era of apathy, so very many people from all over the world support us in the face of impending military attack. We needed to know that people care about each other as human beings. Now we know it is true. We have no doubts.

Native peoples are in struggle everywhere as the monster nuclear fuel cycle steadily, destructively picks its way into all our lives.

Today, we have uncovered a proposal which would allow a power authority to move the Canadian border for the purpose of construction of a nuclear power plant. The place that comes to mind, the place where New York would want to move the border to find water and an access to power transmission lines in an area of low population density, that place is Akwesasne. The struggle goes on.

We wonder from week to week if the NOTES will survive, and it always does – somehow. But it wouldn't survive without you, our reader. We are thankful for your support.

This is the last issue that we will be able to mail to non-subscribers. We urge you to subscribe if you have not yet done so – we urge you to keep in touch.

Growth, apprehension, celebration – our struggle continues. What of your struggles? Is it possible that we may unite around the fight to protect the life of our seventh generation? Let us know.

That's how it is with us.





# IS THIS YOUR LAST ISSUE OF "NOTES"?

WE CANNOT DO IT ANY LONGER!

GENERAL INFLATION AND IN PARTICULAR THE PRICE OF PAPER HAVE CONSPIRED TOO EFFECTIVELY AGAINST US. AKWESASNE NOTES IS SINKING INTO DEBT.

IN ORDER FOR THIS NOT TO HAPPEN, WE HAVE DECIDED AGAINST GIVING THE PAPER FREELY ANYMORE.

WE STILL DO NOT ACCEPT GOVERNMENT OR GENOCIDE-CONNECTED MONEY.

WE ARE ASKING THE PEOPLE WHO WOULD SUPPORT US, THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE LIKEWISE INCLINED TO THE SOVEREIGN DIRECTION, TO PAY FOR OUR PAPER.

FROM NOW ON, WE ARE ASKING \$6.00 PER YEAR PER SUBSCRIPTION, RAISING THE PRICE PER PAPER TO \$1.25.

IF YOU HAVE RECENTLY SENT US ANY MONEY WHICH COULD COVER THAT AMOUNT, THEN WRITE US A NOTE AND YOU WILL BE SO CREDITED.

WE REALIZE THAT THIS ACTION ON OUR PART WILL TRIM OUR EXTENDED READERSHIP. WE KNOW ALSO THERE ARE THOSE OF YOU WHO SHOULD COMMUNICATE WITH US AND DON'T HAVE THE \$6.00. MAYBE YOU CAN AFFORD A QUARTER. DROP US A NOTE. TELL US HOW YOU ARE, WHAT YOU GET OUT OF OUR PAPER. WE'LL FIGURE SOMETHING OUT.

THOSE OF YOU WHO READ US ALL THESE YEARS AND HAD GOOD SPENDING MONEY AND NEVER HAD THE COURTESY TO SEND IN A MEASLY \$5.00, MAYBE YOU SHOULD RECONSIDER YOUR PRIORITIES AT THIS TIME.

AND TO ALL OUR FRIENDS IN STRUGGLE - TO ALL OF YOU WHO WOULD STAND UP AGAINST THE RAPE OF OUR MOTHER EARTH AND THE OPPRESSION OF HER PEOPLES - WE SAY THANK YOU. WE ALSO SAY: USE US, LET US KNOW HOW WE CAN HELP YOU, GET IN TOUCH.

THE ISSUE WHICH YOU ARE HOLDING IN YOUR HANDS WILL BE THE LAST GIVEN AWAY FREELY TO NON-SUBSCRIBERS. WE URGE PEOPLE WHO NOW RECEIVE THE PAPER TO MAKE THEIR DECISION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS YOU SEND IN YOUR CONTRIBUTION, MAKE SURE YOU SEND US YOUR CORRECT ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE.

ESSENTIALLY, THIS CHANGE MEANS THAT OUR NEW MAILING LIST WILL BE MADE UP OF THOSE OF YOU WHO RESPOND TO THIS NOTICE. WE PARTICULARLY URGE GROUPS, ORGANIZATION, SCHOOLS, ETC. TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY AT THIS TIME HOW MANY COPIES PER ISSUE YOU CAN USE. EXCHANGE SUBSCRIPTIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS ARE ALSO WELCOME.



*East Shore-Cornwall Island-Mohawk People gather to monitor the situation as it unfolds. On the river, one of the many ships that travel the Seaway. The Seaway, built during the 1950's, now polluted with mercury, PCB's and flouride, disrupted fish spawning areas and displaced Mohawk families from their homes. Photo: Kathy Kelly*

## "Notes Express"



We have available a special "Express" mailing list for those people wishing to receive "The Notes" as soon as it is published. The special mailing list subscription charge is \$12.00 per year. People on the Express mailing list will also receive the monthly Akwesasne Notes Emergency Phone Tree, ANEPT, Bulletin.



# Mohawk Nation -- Summer, 1980

FRIDAY -- JUNE 13th, 1980

There are days in the history of a people that mark a turning point, days that can not be measured in terms of hours and minutes, days in which time itself takes on a new dimension because men and women, as individuals, transcend themselves and the collective identity of the People experiences a rebirth.

June 13th. A Friday. It is now remembered as Friday, the 13th: An omen of bad luck in European culture, meaningless in Mohawk culture.

That day, the traditional people of the Mohawk Nation, inside and outside the Raquette Point Encampment, woke up to find themselves the object of an extensive military maneuver by New York State and local Mohawk-American vigilante groups.

Mohawk. . . . Mohawk-American. . . . New York State

A Mohawk belongs to the Mohawk Nation, the origin of his citizenship, his language, his history, his ancestors, his religion, his culture. A Mohawk tries to keep alive the Mohawk Nation, is committed to its defence.

A Mohawk-American belongs to the United States, the origin of his citizenship. He belongs to the remnant of an ethnic group which used to be Mohawk but which New York State calls by the name -- "St. Regis Indians."

New York State. . . a conglomeration of political entities, tax structures, a variety of diverse ethnic groups, municipalities, townships, authorities (as in Power and Port), corporations, court and police systems -- a quasi-legal entity very young by Mohawk standards and yet decaying rapidly. Physically powerful, arrogant. In its two-hundred year guardianship of aboriginal Mohawk Territory, it has managed to destroy large portions of it by polluting rivers, eradicating dozens of animals, -- not a very intelligent species by Mohawk Standards.

June 13th, early morning. Word is received of large numbers of New York State Patrol vehicles massing at the elective system government complex on the Akwesasne Territory. A large group of Mohawk-American men (many of whom happen to come from the Canadian portion of Akwesasne . . . Mohawk-Americans-Canadians St. Regis-Canadian Indians) set up a road block at the entrance to Raquette Point Road, a little over a mile from the encampment. They are heavily armed with shotguns and rifles. A group of Mohawk-American women, inspired by an Italian woman and a woman member of the Akwesasne Tribal police, also mill about. They carry baseball bats and other types of clubs.

The State Police issue statements to the local press that they are there to protect the two rival "factions" of Indians from killing each other.

The boss over the State Police that day is one Major Robert Schneeman. He is a tall man in his middle-fifties. He walks in an erect military posture.

The Mohawk-Americans are friendly with Major Schneeman. Major Schneeman is friendly with the Mohawk-Americans.

June 13th, early morning. The Mohawk-Americans block a public road and walk around carrying loaded weapons. The telephone wires are cut leading to the Raquette Point area -- not only to the traditional encampment, but to over a dozen other private homes as well.

The State Police, who are ostensibly there to avert violence, exchange coffee and pleasantries with the Mohawk-Americans. The State Police make no moves in relation to the blockade of a public road, guns, or telephone lines. Major Schneeman tells reporters that Indians carrying loaded guns on a reservation is not against the law. Further south in New York State's capital of Albany, Governor Carey's office, Schneeman's bosses, tell the press that the Mohawk-Americans (whom they call "vigilantes") are not armed.

II

Major Schneeman, Major Schneeman. For a few days, it seemed, everyone in the north country had been talking about Major Schneeman. The man seemed to be everywhere. Everywhere, it seems, he was issuing ultimatums to somebody.

We have said he walked tall and erect -- he was also very cold, impassive. He was the police arm of the State, that's the way he referred to himself, that's the way he was, that's *who* he was.

Major Schneeman - all over the place, going here, going there, issuing ultimatums.

We have witnesses that saw him at meetings, during the days prior to June 13th, with the Mohawk-Americans. Meetings on the reservation, meetings at which he and other troopers suggested that on the day of the blockade, the Mohawk-Americans should wear yellow-blue arm bands, meetings at which the State police offered to back the Mohawk-Americans up, meetings at which they coordinated CB radio frequencies, at which they discussed a possible, bloody assault against a



Gate to Camp Kanasarakah, sovereign Mohawk Nation Territory. Akwesasne Notes Photo Kathy Kelly.



State Police troopers on June 13th, 1980 massing for assault. Ultimatums were issued to the camp several times that day.



der SOL-C-3 of the  
l to take NOTES under  
nal project.

ese efforts and receive  
ontribution your check  
asne Notes/The Youth  
OTES.

it that you can keep for

ent funds, but we urge  
opportunity to help our

struggle goes on.

We wonder from week to week if the NOTES will survive, and it always does -- somehow. But it wouldn't survive without you, our reader. We are thankful for your support.

This is the last issue that we will be able to mail to non-subscribers. We urge you to subscribe if you have not yet done so -- we urge you to keep in touch.

Growth, apprehension, celebration -- our struggle continues. What of your struggles? Is it possible that we may unite around the fight to protect the life of our seventh generation? Let us know.

That's how it is with us.







*The St. Lawrence River - Traditional fishing grounds of the Mohawk Nation. Raquette Point is on the right, on the left Cornwall Island, also Mohawk Nation Territory. Raquette Point, site of the traditional encampment, is much coveted as a port facility by development interests as the first point of so-called "American" land jutting out into the St. Lawrence Seaway.*



*When word spread of the police barricade on the highway, the Mohawk People took to the river, transporting people, medicines, food and other supplies by water to the besieged camp.*



*East Shore-Cornwall Island-Mohawk People gather to monitor the situation as it unfolds. On the river, one of the many ships that travel the Seaway. The Seaway, built during the 1950's, now polluted with mercury, PCB's and flouride, disrupted fish spawning areas and displaced Mohawk families from their homes. Photo: Kathy Kelly*

camp of Mohawk families.

The Mohawk-Americans called themselves the "concerned citizens". They were concerned, they said. That the Mohawks at the Raquette Point encampment were really "communists". They were worried, they said, about the "Red Menace". They were worried, they said, that the Mohawks would take over. They didn't like, they said, all this talk about a Nation. They were worried, they said, that Loran Thompson was brainwashing the People. They were angry, they said, because outsiders, troublemakers, were behind the encampment.

Somebody, some say State troopers, had provided them with dozens of copies of a John Birch Society booklet about the communist-inspired nature of Indian movements, a booklet so full of lies that not even the commercial media could take it seriously.

Anger, fear, anger - the Mohawk-Americans were being whipped up. Anger, fear, commie plots.

Anger, fear, kill them all, tear them out of there. Get some tanks in there, get the State police in there, get the National Guard. By God, give me a gun, I'll kill one of them son's of b's myself, law and order all the way, pass me a beer.

Mohawk-Americans. They had a leader, by the name of Bill Sears. Bill Sears. We have a tape where Bill Sears says he thinks it is dangerous to teach Mohawk culture to the kids. He says: "Maybe its okay to teach about, you know, a saying or something that my great,great,great,grandfather said. Something like that. But the religion, the political stuff. That's dangerous."

Bill Sears, a big man, a vigilante, undeputized, carrying a gun. A Mohawk-American, riding around in a car with Major Schneeman, walking around with his own walkie-talkie, giving orders, riding around in helicopters with Major Schneeman (we have a video tape of it).

June 13th, the day progresses. The Raquette Point area is surrounded and cut off. Police snipers appear on nearby rooftops! Residents from outside the area of traditional encampment experience fear. Some try to drive out through the barricade. Two women are beaten by the Mohawk-American vigilante women in front of their own children. The State police then offer to move the residents out, set them up in local motels, tell the press the Raquette Point residents are afraid of the traditional encampment of Mohawk warriors. But for over a year they have co-existed, no incidents reported. The Mohawk warriors have even fought house fires in the community when requested.

The tension builds. Out of Albany the wire services - AP, UPI; the New York Times, pick up the story of the two warring factions of Indians, the story of the gentle peacekeeping role of Major Schneeman's State police. Throughout the whole apparatus of State - electric company; phone company; gas company; bureaucracy, a rumor spreads of an "Indian" uprising. It is the official version of events. An "Indian" uprising. Boo! Boo! Boo! CRAZY, CRAZY. And the commercial press picks it up. The New York Times even invents a tale of "hostages" being held at the traditional camp - ignoring the fact that the camp itself is a hostage nation.

June 13th, Mohawk Nation, the day progresses. Major Schneeman's State police are on everyone's mind. Governor Carey's Indian Affairs consultant, Ray Harding, is on many people's minds.

Harding. Ray Harding. Another hard line man. One of the Mohawk Chiefs tells that it was Harding on August 28th, 1979 who delivered the hard line position of the State: surrender or else! The chief tells also of Harding's face, hard and cold, that when the meeting between the camp and the State was opened in the traditional way, with the opening thanksgiving prayer, it was Harding who had made it a point to talk out loud, to walk in and out while the prayer was going on. "It was like he thought we were putting him on," the chief said. "He was so suspicious."

Everyone had heard that Harding was angry. The Mohawk Nation had cancelled a meeting with him scheduled in Albany for June 2nd. The reasons for the cancellation had been that on June 1st, the camp radio had picked up a transmission from the State police to the Akwesasne Tribal police that they were to meet with representatives of the State National Guard at Twin Bridges (on the entrance to Raquette Point road). Two days before had come the word that Howard Rowley, a federal mediator had resigned because of his feeling that the positions on both sides were too rigid. Also, since the Unity march of April 19th,



# Self-Sufficiency . . . . Language . . . .

when over 1,000 Mohawks had marched in support of the Traditional camp, police activity on the Mohawk territory had been intensifying. Troopers were pulling over indians on routine checks and emerging in full riot gear, M-16's in hand.

The Mohawk Nation People advised their chiefs not to send anyone to Albany, at that time. They were uneasy about the recent turn of events and didn't want some of their best leadership that far away. Anyway, Harding had of late, taken to dictating to the Mohawk Nation whom they could or could not send as negotiators - a position the Mohawk people thought ludicrous.

It was after Harding's hard line position on August 29th, 1979, that the previous armed assault by the State and vigilantes had been set in motion. That assault had been checked in time, but the recent police activity on the Reservation, coupled with public calls by local rightwing legislator Paul Maroon for deputized vigilantes to clear up the traditional camp had the Mohawk people understandably on edge.

During the week of June 2 - 9, Harding had been on the phone to chiefs at the Onondaga Nation, capitol of the Six Nations Confederacy, requesting support for the State. The Onondagas, a sister nation of the Mohawks, found the call from Harding rather strange. They, of course, voiced their support for the Mohawk Nation.

The pace of activity on the Mohawk territory had picked up rapidly after that. On June 5, Major Schneeman appeared at the gate of the traditional encampment. He talked with the Mohawk people for nearly 5 hours. During that time he mentioned his record as a military man, his command over upstate trooper personnel and let it be known that it was quite within his command to order an assault on the Mohawk Nation.

Shortly after that warriors who had attended the meeting began to describe Schneeman as a 20th Century George Armstrong Custer. "You seem like you are trying to scare us," Schneeman had been told. "But we are not scared."

If he couldn't scare the Mohawk people, Major Schneeman was, at least, intent on pushing things to a head. Many people who remember Schneeman around that time describe him as an angry man, as an authoritarian figure who seemed to be losing his grip on the reality of the situation before him.

The spring of 1980 in the Mohawk territory had brought about a great deal of movement, much dialogue and a surfacing reunification among the Mohawk people the likes of which had not been seen in many years. One of the expressions of this sentiment was the feeling of many people that whatever differences may be occurring between Mohawks could certainly be settled by Mohawks. During that time, within the Elective System, a recall election had been attempted at which two of the old trustees had been voted out of office. A unanimous resolution had also been passed (125-0) in effect firing the Elective System land claims attorney, Arthur Gajarza, who, along with the trustees had been holding "secret" negotiations on the land claims. Finally, a petition of 1,035 Mohawk names had been gathered and presented to D.A. Ryan calling for the lifting of all indictments on traditional Mohawks. Word reached Mohawk people that the old trustees had been paid more than \$26,000 to attend land claims meetings. Many saw this as an effort by the feds at bribing - a gentlemen's bribe, to be sure, but a bribe.

None of these moves were allowed to the Elective System reformists (they were called "dissidents" by the local press). Ryan had merely tossed the petition aside without reading it, and a BIA man had come in from D.C. and threatened to cut off federal program funding if such resistance didn't stop. The result: a fundamental lesson in White Man's "democracy" for many people, and a renewed interest on the part of many non-Longhouse Mohawks in their own Mohawk traditional legal system.

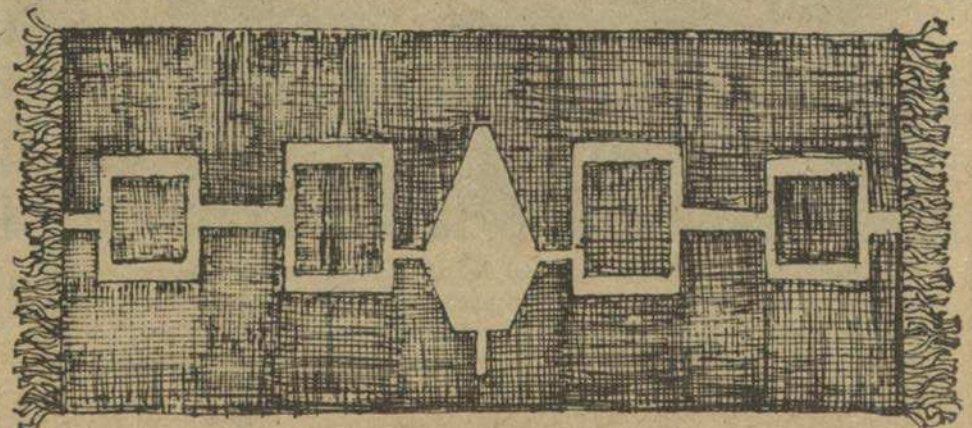
Many meetings took place at the traditional camp during that time. It was a learning time, a time of exchange. The Great Law of Peace - the original democratic constitution of the Six Nations Confederacy - was begun to be understood by many community people. It was witnessed as a living tradition, one still practiced throughout Six Nations communities. Many Mohawks began to participate in the tradition for the first time, participate in Mohawk language classes, and in the



*In April, Franklin County Judge Jan Plumadore denied the lack of jurisdiction motions to dismiss on the grounds that the St. Regis Indians were only ethnically Mohawk. The People had a response ready.*



*Culmination of April 19th Mohawk Unity March - Dr. Solomon Cook, now an Elective System Chief is greeted by Jake Swamp and other Mohawk Nation Chiefs. Could this be what New York State was upset about?*





# Tradition . . . Seven Generations . . .



Mohawk elders meeting at Akwesasne Longhouse. The ranks of the Longhouse People have grown increasingly in recent years, as the "modern" way of life seems to fragment and destroy everything the old people remember to be good.



Over the past 10 years, AKWESASNE NOTES has been the official voice of the Mohawk Nation. It is sent to readers in six continents and, as with the Longhouse ways, it is concerned with the survival of all life on this planet.



Many non-Indians over the years have expressed allegiance to traditional Native governments intent on protecting the rights of future generations. Here a contingent from Rights for American Indians Now (R.A.I.N.) arriving at the Onondaga Longhouse last fall.

Spring, ceremonies increased and ranks of the Warrior Society swelled. The traditional Mohawk law is the only law that can define who is Mohawk, what is Mohawk. Many people came to understand the oral history of the elders is the only Mohawk history.

"By following our own laws, by conducting our internal affairs in our own language we not only maintain our identity that way," a Longhouse chief said during those days, "it is the only way we have of truly protecting ourselves. Once we take on a system designed for us by New York State, we are subject to the whims of New York State."

There was much good talk, much good understanding. The rebuilding of the Nation was discussed. The dependency on BIA moneys, how to break the welfare mentality, return pride to the people was discussed. The protection of the rights of Mohawk children seven generations from now was discussed. The rights of women, the true and profound duties of traditional chiefs, self-sufficiency, sovereignty, the certainty of the coming hard times, all these topics were discussed -- and, not in a "culture" class inside some local college, but in open, truly democratic meetings, as the living expression of Mohawk law and culture.

Who was watching this? What did the Mohawk-Americans think of this? What did the Elective Chiefs think? What did Carey, Harding, Ryan, Rudy Hart, Gajarza, Harris Cole and Schneeman think of this?

Soon, several Police incidents occurred. The State police would attempt to arrest Mohawk nationals and within minutes would find themselves surrounded by Mohawk people. The State police would back off. The Mohawks were protecting their own, taking their own law into their own hands.

On June 6th, it erupted. On that evening two Mohawk brothers, Mitch and Ray Chubb were jumped by 15 State troopers and Akwesasne Tribal cops and were clubbed so severely they both had to be hospitalized.

On June 7th, the elective system regular election took place and Dr. Solomon Cook, a respected community leader and one of the organizers of the April 19th Unity march was elected to replace head Mohawk-American Rudy Hart, Sr.

On June 9th, some 60-70 Mohawk women went to deliver a letter to the State troopers at their Massena Headquarters. They encountered Major Robert Schneeman. They tried to present to Major Schneeman a letter opposing police violence and asking the State police to leave Akwesasne. Before they were able to present their letter, however, the State Police moved to arrest Bonnie Square, fiancée to one of the young men injured in the June 6 incident, on charges of assault. The women attempted to protect Bonnie but were pushed back by the police wielding billy clubs. A local T.V. station had a newscrew there who filmed the incident. There is a telling clip of a BCI agent - Fontaine - with a fierce face, hands on the throat of a Mohawk woman.

The next day, June 10, 1980, the Mohawk women met again with Major Schneeman at the Bear's Den Gift Shop/gas station on the Akwesasne Territory. The women told of 30 years of harrasment. One woman told of the death of one of her brothers and another women told of the death of her husband after police beatings. The women placed the responsibility for those beatings and deaths on the Akwesasne Police and the New York State Police.

Another Mohawk woman told that she had been attacked by a state trooper years back and that young Mohawk women had been afraid to walk on the roads because they would be sexually molested by the state troopers. Major Schneeman showed some disbelief and doubt. The woman continued, "We are raising children here whose fathers are troopers!" Major Schneeman quipped, "I believe somebody likes us," insinuating that some Mohawk women enjoy being sexually molested or raped by Troopers.

On Wednesday, June 11, Major Schneeman went to Akwesasne to meet with some members of the Akwesasne Police and their supporters. Four days earlier, an off-duty Akwesasne Police officer, Richard Wheeler, had been charged with leaving the scene of an accident after his automobile had allegedly struck a non-Indian couple in the off-Akwesasne town of Fort Covington. That incident had brought to the attention of Franklin County officials the fact that the Akwesasne Police were not insured.

The next day, Thursday, June 12, Major Schneeman and some of the



# Nuclear Power . . . Pollution . . .

Akwesasne Police attended a meeting of the Franklin County Legislature. That night, Major Schneeman again met with the Akwesasne Police and their supporters, most of whom were, as a matter of fact, residents of the Canadian portion of Akwesasne. Major Schneeman and the Akwesasne Police and their supporters had jointly participated in three meetings within the space of 48 hours.

## III

June 13th. The day continues. Mohawk-American vigilantes on the St. Lawrence River ram a small boat driven by a young Mohawk boy. The boat capsizes and the young boy almost drowns, barely able to swim to shore. Word spreads throughout the Mohawk community. Word begins to spread throughout the Six Nations communities and then nationally and internationally.

Mohawk People at the Traditional encampment request safe-passage of medicines to and from the camp from the State police. Schneeman refuses. Within an hour over a dozen Mohawk Nation boats are cruising the St. Lawrence River, a small flotilla. The vigilante boats are chased off, not to return. Supplies come into the camp across the River. A non-Indian nurse attempts to cross police barricade. She is turned back, but comes into the camp across the River. Medical attention was provided to several people that day.

Support begins to pour in. By noon, the traditional encampment is full of warriors. There are many older men, veterans of World War II, Korea, Vietnam. Many have walked out of their jobs that day. They man bunkers all around the camp's perimeter. At the east shore of the river on Cornwall Island - Mohawk Nation Territory, car after car of older women bring food, blankets. Some bring their old hunting shotguns, .22 caliber rifles, to hand over to the warriors - literally hundreds of people came in and out. Bands of young boys and girls on bicycles travel the reservation roads, dozens of kids, loosely organized on their own, keeping tabs on activities of the State police, how many cars were where, how many troopers, what kind of guns. Two press centers are set up on Cornwall Island, another one in New York City, a fourth in Washington, D.C.

In the camp word is received of an ultimatum by the Mohawk-American vigilantes. They threaten to come in at noon. It is said that as they were whipping themselves up with hate, loading their weapons, one of them said: "When we go in there, make sure to shoot the kids too. I don't want to have to do this, again in twenty years."

Inside the camp, the traditional chiefs have decided to turn to the women for a decision. This is the customary way, that the women should decide whether a war is necessary. It is the women who must weep, after all. The women meet and decided unanimously that the Nation has nowhere else to go. It has its back to the waters of the St. Lawrence, it has nothing left to give up. They decide to fight if necessary.

It is hard to describe now, some weeks after the fact, how close the threat of violence was, how tense the situation became. Within a square mile of territory, you had several hundred armed people facing each other, threatening each other. There were moments of grave tension, probably a dozen of them, when the firing of a single shot would have precipitated an out-and-out battle and the certainly of dozens if not hundreds of casualties. One could smell the impending violence on that day; it was the background that permeated everyone's activity.

It is a heartening thing for the warriors to see the courage of their women, to see the response of the children, of the old people. They are ready then to die, if necessary. They are ready to make a last stand for the Nation.

Noon comes and goes, however, and the vigilantes make no attack. The day progresses. The warriors hold meetings at which they understand and discuss the defensive nature of their role on this day. A phrase by one of the security heads becomes the joke of the day: "Don't shoot unless they shoot you first."

In New York City, Oren Lyons, a chief of the Onondaga Nation, makes his way to Raymond Harding's office. The Onondaga Chief's Council has met in emergency session earlier, and issued a public statement of support for the Mohawk Nation. They issued a warning to



*Six Nations Chiefs at United Nations Conference, Geneva 1977. The international work toward recognition of sovereign Native Nations has elicited a great deal of response. Fourteen countries have accepted the Six Nations passport used by the Haudenosaunee delegations. Photo by Bannon.*



*Six Nations Chiefs delegation at Wounded Knee, S.D. in 1973. This delegation arrived in the Lakota country as an observer group. Since that time the Lakota Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy have forged a mutual defence treaty.*



*Mario Capanna, on right, an Italian member of the European parliament, accompanies Mohawk People on a demonstration on behalf of Raquette Point situation. Photo: C. Biegert*



# Defence Of The Mother Earth . . .

the Governor's office: "If any Mohawk is injured as a result of State Police assaults on the traditional camp - the Onondaga Nation will retaliate." A list of possible targets is circulated, including pipelines, highways and electric companies. Groups of people, including many New York State citizens, also register their concern during this time, directing their warnings at Governor Carey's office, where they report that 3-4,000 phone calls, letters and telegrams flood them over a three day period.

It is now around 2 pm. Raymond Harding receives Oren Lyons and informs him of another deadline and impending assault - scheduled for 3 pm. Harding, Oren Lyons would later comment, inquired of the Onondaga chief his opinion of the situation. "I mentioned to him," Lyons said, "that his men would have a difficult time taking that camp. It is very well fortified, I told him. He could expect to lose dozens of men."

Oren Lyons went on. "Harding took a minute, then said: 'Tell me something else.'"

"I told him: 'There is a second strike force that will hit you from behind.'"

"Harding blinked. He said: 'Tell me something else.'"

"I told him: 'Ganienkeh, Kaknewake, Onondaga, Tuscaroras, Oneida, Seneca, have all indicated they would retaliate in the event of an attack.'"

"I remember he was holding the phone in his hand. He asked me to leave him alone in his office, so I left."

Harding, Schneeman, Carey, Morgado, Mohawk-American vigilantes - it was hard to tell at that time who, if anyone, was in control of the State's operation, or what motivations were dominant. Between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m., however, a hurried statement was issued from Harding's office that the State Police and the vigilantes had joined forces and an attack would take place at 3:00 p.m.. People at the Interior Department in Washington went one step further and issued a statement shortly after 3:00 p.m. that shots had been fired and the attack was in progress.

## IV

But the expected attack never took place.

At the Raquette Point encampment, some of the women herded the children into a basement. Other women took positions next to the warriors.

Witnesses tell a story about the police barricades, where almost 100 troopers milled about.

Major Schneeman had changed his cap for a wide-brim trooper hat - a "General Custer" hat. He walked about, attempting to whip his men into a combat stance. By mid-afternoon, however, most of the troopers had developed a general awareness of the kind of armed resistance the Mohawk Nation was intent on putting up. Not many of them wanted to risk their lives against rather heavy odds.

Once, we were told, Schneeman succeeded in lining them up at attention and was ready to give the attack order. He hesitated for an instant, turning around. In that instant, another trooper stepped forward and issued a quick, contradictory set of orders. The troopers dispersed, much to Schneeman's chagrin.

Three o'clock came and went. Another ultimatum at 5:30 p.m. also came and went. The day turned into evening. A tense state of alert pervaded the Mohawk Nation. Over the CB, some troopers took to mocking Mohawk traditional songs. Vigilantes were seen drinking beer and brandishing weapons. A Mohawk reporter, Louis Cook, showed up at the barricade and was beat up by the vigilantes and then arrested by the State Police. The regional press, with one notable exception (Syracuse Post Standard) continued to put out the story of State Police keeping the peace between two warring "factions of Indians." The Syracuse paper was suspicious. An article appeared several days later in which a reporter voiced the opinion that the whole affair of vigilantes and State Police had an orchestrated air about it.

Later, we would hear that not until State Police Superintendent William Connelie had issued orders against any more attack attempts

was the situation defused for the day. That was at 7 p.m.. The significance of that information was that it lent credibility to the reports that Major Schneeman had in fact tried to launch an assault and that Harding's office had in no way tried to interfere in Schneeman's designs.

Now it is August. The documentation, the stories from those early days of June continue to pile up. For a time, the situation continued to be very tense. The police barricades, at a cost of over a million dollars, were kept up until early August. A vigilante camp took over some cabins on Raquette Point for a while, threatening attacks on the encampment but in fact only occasionally taking pot shots at playing children and boats passing by on the river.

A field day for the children at the Traditional camp in late June brought out over a thousand Mohawks, in spite of the tension. Elective System Mohawks, Band Council Mohawks and Longhouse Mohawks agreed to petition District Attorney Ryan and Judge Plumadore to move to drop all indictments. An agreement was reached to lift the warrants temporarily, to dismantle the State Police barricade and to send the vigilantes home. Word also came that Major Schneeman had been relieved of duty at Akwesasne and a different man had replaced him to handle the "Indian situation."

We go to press on August 18. On the next day, a hearing is scheduled at the Franklin County Court to hear a motion to dismiss the charges in the interest of justice. The Traditional people are not optimistic that the hearing will result in the dismissal of those charges.

As we go to press, information has reached us which tells of a master nuclear energy-development plan by New York State's Power Authority. This plan, it seems, would turn Upstate New York into a huge nuclear power park, containing dozens of nuclear power plants, fully utilizing the waters of the St. Lawrence and Mohawk Nation Territories. (see next article). From where we sit now, it also begins to explain why New York State has gone to the lengths that it has (millions of tax-payers dollars: the risk of dozens of lives) in the attempt to break the back of the Mohawk Nation - probably the strongest pocket of resistance to nuclear insanity in the state.

Inside the Mohawk community, the commitment to defend remains strong. So is the commitment to continue the Nation rebuilding process. The early days of June had seen the de-facto if not the de-jure recognition of the Six Nations Confederacy by New York State and the world community. The power of reason and good will had prevailed over racism and hatred. The Mohawk people experienced that - a taste of freedom. The struggle continues.

A Nation Food Co-op is now operating, Nation gardens are being tilled, an independent school is planned for the Fall and no one who experienced the unity and resolve of the People on June 13th will ever be quite the same again.



*Mohawks gather at traditional encampment for a day of talking and celebration.*



# Big Money--Nuclear Plans Behind Squeeze At Mohawk Nation

by Leslie Freeman, PhD and Daniel Pisello, PhD.

Mohawks do not have a friend at Chase Manhattan. Since January 1976 the people of the Mohawk Nation together with New York's North Country farmers have been fighting a desperate battle with the Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY) over their right to build 765 kV electrical transmission lines from Canada through the United States. Knowing that their plans threaten the health and welfare of the Mohawk Nation, PASNY began its work. Electric fields produced by these lines, as well as the dangerous herbicides used along the right-of-way cause cancer, mutations, and other biological damage. Evidence of these health effects led the Mohawk Nation and the farmers of the North Country to object to the high voltage lines. Court actions were brought against the Power Authority by citizen groups who hoped to stop construction of the power lines in 1977. Nevertheless, PASNY purchased materials and went ahead with construction of the lines before the Public Service Commission (PSC) had approved the project. One PSC commissioner, Harold A. Jerry, criticized the Power Authority's arrogant actions and stated that the PSC had "been terrorized by the Power Authority."

Despite the knowledge that chronic exposure to high voltage lines had caused biological damage in humans, the PSC approved the project and construction continued. In May 1979 a Traditional Mohawk Chief at Akwesasne, Loran Thompson, found a Young Adult Conservation Corps crew chopping down trees on his property. No transmission lines were to have cut through the Reservation. Chief Thompson confiscated some of the crew's equipment. Within hours, New York State and Akwesasne police arrested him on a charge of "theft." New York State seized this opportunity to move against the Mohawk Nation. Indictments were handed out, phone lines were cut; vigilante groups pulled people from their cars and beat them mercilessly. State Police and SWAT teams threatened to attack. Guns were pointed at people encamped at Raquette Point. Snipers were stationed on platforms put there by the General Motors Corporation, a corporation with intentions to mass produce electric vehicles in the mid-1980s.

The harassment of the Mohawk people has a far reaching aim. 765 kV lines are just the beginning of the planned expansion of the nuclear industry with power plants and reprocessing stations all over New York State. The 765 kV lines were and are a necessary beginning. A large scale nuclear development is set forth in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's 1975 Nuclear Energy Center Site Survey. For this development, Mohawk land is needed.

Why are these lands so valuable to Chase Manhattan Bank To understand what is happening to the Mohawk people at the border, it is necessary to see the complete Rockefeller plan for nuclear expansion and to look at the industries backed and controlled by personal and corporate Rockefeller dollars.

One of the earliest visible moves of this grand Rockefeller plan was the creation of the "oil crisis" of 1973 to set the stage for the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974. This legislation made the "official" rationale for unlimited expansion of the nuclear power industry into the law of the land. It set up the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to find sites for nuclear reactors with specific instructions to "locate and identify possible nuclear energy center sites." As defined in Section 207 of the Energy Reorganization Act, a nuclear energy center (NEC) means "any site, including a site not restricted to land, large enough to support utility operations, or other elements of the total nuclear fuel cycle, or both if appropriate, nuclear fuel reprocessing facilities, nuclear fuel fabrication plants, retrievable nuclear waste storage facilities, and uranium enrichment facilities."

The Executive Summary of the 1975 Site Survey, addressed to the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, then President of the U.S. Senate, January 19, 1976,



**NO  
NUKES!**

## ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

## AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

via Rooseveltown, New York 13683

(518)358-9531

concludes "that depending on location, it can be feasible and practical to construct power plant centers of up to 20 nuclear power reactors, fuel cycle centers and combined centers..." This, simply stated, places 20 large nuclear reactors together in a single location.

The Mohawk lands, now in dispute, are ideal for an NEC since large nuclear energy centers require huge quantities of water for cooling. The NEC Site Survey estimates that a nuclear energy center with 40 reactors, the largest considered in the study, would need to be located on a river with a flow rate of more than 12,000 cubic feet of water per second. There are only three rivers in the northeast that can supply that much water - the lower Hudson, the Niagara, and the St. Lawrence. The St. Lawrence is the biggest and flows through an area with the least population.

An NEC with several reactors produces such a huge quantity of energy that most of it will not be used in the immediate vicinity of the center. Therefore, extra high voltage (765 kV) lines are needed to distribute the large amount of excess electric power generated at a nuclear energy center. According to the 1975 Site Survey, a large nuclear energy center also requires a great deal of land "because of the increased length of transmission lines, the use of EHV (extra-high voltage) lines which require wider corridors, and reliability and stability considerations which will require more interties." The 765 kV lines crossing the St. Lawrence River and directly impacting on the Mohawk Nation were built as a part of this plan for nuclear expansion. The power lines cross U.S. territory near the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of the Mohawk Nation.

Other developments necessary for the expansion of nuclear power involve the construction of high level radioactive plants, and fuel fabrication plants. The most likely scenario for the development of a nuclear energy center combines these facilities in one location together with several plutonium burning breeder reactors. There is more planned in the Mohawks' backyard than they could have realized.

Current legislation being pushed through Congress makes West Valley a large away-from-reactor spent fuel storage facility and a fuel reprocessing plant and waste dump. This will result in thousands of radioactive shipments coming into New York via overland routes, across the Great Lakes, and down the St. Lawrence River from all over the United States as well as from other parts of the world. High level waste sites are also being considered in the saltbeds of the Finger Lakes region, where exploratory drilling is now underway. Laws before Congress will authorize spent fuel storage and high level waste dump sites without requiring state approval. At the same time bills in the New York State legislature are being considered which will give PASNY the unrestrained powers to implement such projects completely free of any interference from state or local government. The way is being paved for a huge nuclear complex spanning New York State and involving the entire Northeast. What is happening at the New York - Canadian border cannot be understood without this information. Financial investments backing the nuclear industry's broad expansion are from Rockefeller corporations. Rockefeller money is also the controlling interest in New York State's Power Authority. Nelson Rockefeller invested millions of his own personal fortune in PASNY bonds.

PASNY was originally created in 1931 by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt to build hydropower projects. Because it could raise large amounts of capital by selling tax-exempt state guaranteed bonds and because it had the rights and privileges of a supra-governmental agency (like the Tennessee Valley Authority), Nelson Rockefeller saw in PASNY the perfect instrument to build a uranium empire the way his grandfather, John D. Rockefeller had done with oil. So in the early sixties he changed the mandate of the Power Authority, authorizing it to "contract throughout its area of service ... such baseload nuclear generating facilities as in its judgment are necessary." Thus Rockefeller transformed PASNY into what the 1975 Site Survey identified as a "major candidate to develop, operate, and finance a nuclear energy center."

PASNY was also authorized to develop "such hydroelectric pumped storage projects as it deems necessary or desirable." Hydroelectric pumped storage is not a source of power, but a method of energy storage ideally suited for use with nuclear generating plants. The generating capacity of a nuclear plant is subject to sudden shutdowns which require an immediately available backup power supply. Hydroelectric pumped storage provides backup power in seconds.

PASNY's plan for pumped storage facilities as an adjunct to nuclear power has focused mainly on the unpopulated and poor Catskill area. New York City's drinking water reservoirs in the Catskills are attractive as reservoirs for pumped storage projects. Already, several pumped storage sites have been proposed. So far only one has succeeded against local opposition at Blenheim-Gilboa, located about 40 southwest of Albany. This went into operation in 1973. Another pumped storage facility proposed by PASNY, the Prattsville project, which is currently being fought by 95 intervenors representing local citizen groups, is located on a New York City reservoir, the Schoharie. Pumped storage, like the 765 kV lines, is directly related to the real dangers in the production of nuclear power, including leaks, accidents, and inevitable pollution of food, air, and water. However, pumped storage is also an immediate ecologic hazard to the residents, as are the 765 kV transmission lines to the Mohawk Nation. Pumped storage heats the water, kills fish, raises the bacteria level, and kills the algae.



Most recently, PASNY has also applied to the Federal Energy Regulatory Agency for a license to negotiate with New York City to purchase the entire New York City watershed. Once PASNY acquires the New York City water supply, they will be able to push through all their pumped storage projects, regardless of local opposition. When drinking water is linked to a pumped storage facility, the quality of the drinking water deteriorates. Thus, the EPA gave the Prattsville Project an unsatisfactory rating (EU-2) in its Draft Environmental Impact Statement. Despite the fact that New York City knows such projects have already affected the water supply and will continue to have a deleterious effect on the quality of the drinking water, the City is not intervening against this PASNY move and is, in fact, cooperating with PASNY. New York City's water system is old and in need of repairs costing \$90 million. Rockefeller henchmen in City and State governmental agencies claim they cannot afford the cost. This provides the pretext for PASNY to bail out the city and thus acquire a huge amount of water and land for their pumped storage and nuclear projects. Even if New York City were to object, PASNY probably has the power to acquire the watershed by condemnation. Within New York State PASNY has already condemned thousands of acres of private property and will continue to operate with this right of eminent domain. This means that if PASNY wants property for a purpose that it deems "necessary or convenient," it can simply take it and pay what it decides is fair, or nothing at all. If an Act to amend the Public Authorities Law (10811) is passed, PASNY will have the legal power "to purchase and sell water." It already has the right to extend the New York border into Canada if necessary or desirable for the continued creation of new power projects. For such projects PASNY would contract with the Department of Energy or Westinghouse or G.E. or possibly even Framatome, the company that currently operates Phoenix and SuperPhoenix the breeder reactors in France. Already the United States has contracts with Westinghouse for breeder parts, which are simply stockpiling. Westinghouse's investment in the expansion of nuclear breeders is seen in their large investment in France's Phoenix and SuperPhoenix.

To understand the future of the nuclear industry, it is necessary to understand the current status of nuclear fuel resources. Nuclear reactors generate power by means of nuclear fission. The only naturally usable material is uranium-235, which will be completely depleted in about 20 or 30 years. Also the mining of uranium creates "tailings," millions of tons of highly radioactive waste, already an issue in the United States and in every country where uranium is mined. Man-made plutonium is the only substitute. Some plutonium is produced in the light water reactors in use today. However it is costly and difficult to reprocess. The production of plutonium necessary for missiles and reactors is financially profitable only in the breeder reactor. Currently the only real source of plutonium to be used in the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder (LMFBR) reactors which are especially designed to convert large quantities of U-238 into more plutonium is military reactors. The LMFBR technology has been demonstrated to work in the French breeder program first in the Phoenix demonstration reactor and then in the more powerful commercial breeder, the SuperPhoenix. The United States LMFBR program already consists of a "test" breeder reactor at Hanford unknown to most people. Construction on another U.S. breeder project, the Clinch River Breeder, was halted by Carter in 1977 to stop the reprocessing of spent fuel. But Congressional appropriations for it have continued.

Today, Carter's position is mirrored in the findings of the sixty-six nation study, the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation. They concluded that there may be weapons proliferation problems in moving to breeder technology, but these problems are "tolerable and manageable." The report suggests that the existing thousands of tons of spent fuel from Light Water Reactors can be buried without reprocessing or can be reprocessed for use with breeder reactors. The report insists that breeder reactors are "environmentally less hazardous than light water reactors and most appropriate in industrialized nations with large nuclear power grids."

The substance plutonium is lethal and highly volatile.

Considering the dangers of plutonium production, this statement is obscene. Both the energy and the fissionable material in the core of a breeder reactor is much more highly concentrated than in light water reactors, and violent accidents are more likely to occur. The breeder reactor goes out of control more quickly. The primary coolant of the breeder reactor is highly reactive molten sodium, which ignites and explodes when it comes in contact with air. The plutonium in the core is so concentrated that a meltdown could result in an atomic bomb-like explosion. Contamination of the environment from a normally operating breeder is greater and far more serious. Small releases of plutonium always accompany reprocessing and fabrication of plutonium fuel. Reprocessing must go on continually for the industry to continue. An increased incidence of birth defects and cancers have resulted from low levels of plutonium contamination in the population surrounding the Rocky Flats Weapons Facility, where plutonium is being processed. According to Dr. John Gofman, a medical physicist, if only .001% of all the plutonium handled to the year 2000 is lost — a level of safety the nuclear industry has never achieved — it would result in an additional 25 million cancers in the American population alone in the next 50 years.

The nightmarish and rapid world wide expansion of nuclear power makes no sense as a solution to the "energy crisis." The "energy crisis" itself was conceived in sin by corporate financiers in the 1950s and 1960s to create a rationale for nuclear power because of its tremendous profit potential. The market of international resources has been manipulated to create a hardship by these same men. Nowhere has there been a real program for energy conservation. Nowhere has there been necessary research. Finally, no real natural solar or hydro power has been developed. Instead we have large scale generation electric power with nuclear reactors producing enormous amounts of waste heat pollution and uranium creating the hazards of tailings and mining enrichment facilities which are the greatest polluting source the world has yet known; hydroelectric pumped storage stations that consume half as much energy as they supply and heat the water, kill the fish and algae, and raise bacteria count many miles of extra-high voltage transmission lines, causing physical illness and damage to animals and crops, with attendant wastage of power; and the legislation and production of highly centralized and unreliable nuclear generating facilities.

Every conceivable form of energy wastage is incorporated. Radiation death by leaks, accidents and disease is inevitable. This whole system cannot be for the production of electricity. Rather it ensures a large and steady supply of plutonium for the nuclear arms race. Profit and control of the world's resources by the largest banks is guaranteed. Actually, the investment with the largest financial return today is the production of war goods. Of these, missiles is the single most profitable product. For instance, one unknown fact is that every one of the 30,000 nuclear bombs in the U.S. arsenal has a plutonium trigger that must be returned to the factory for maintenance every 18 months. This means that about 60 bombs a day have to be serviced because plutonium deteriorates. Hundreds of fresh bombs as well

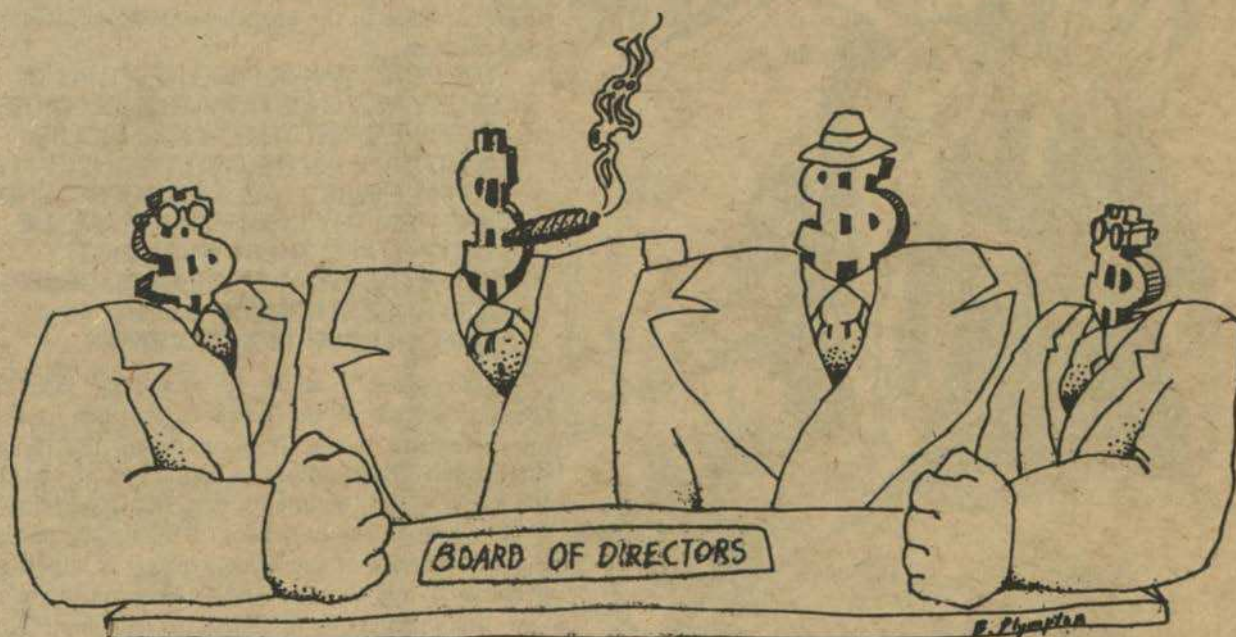
as those returned for service are en route every day to and from bases and stockpiles all over the country and all over the world.

As the Federal government moves to establish away-from-reactor storage for spent fuel, the reopening of West Valley, and permanent waste sites for high level radioactive materials, the transportation of radioactive waste overland through city and country highways, it is necessary that they enact legislation paralyzing the States from making objections to these moves. States' rights are being eaten away in all of the bills before Congress. Absolute power is desirable to protect the arms industry and its owners. Individual citizens as well as states only encumber the plans of finance capital. As people learn more about the extent of the arms race and the real impact it is having on their lives, more and more objections are raised.

Today, specific laws are being considered by Congress to squelch all political opposition that might develop against the nuclear arms race and nuclear energy production. The old Nixon S.1 Bill to limit individual rights has been revived by Senators Kennedy and Thurmond in a proposed Criminal Code Reform Bill, S. 1722. This current bill is now before Congress. It violates the constitutional right of peaceable assembly by (1) defining any unwanted political activity as "disorderly conduct" and some gatherings as a federal crime punishable by a fine of \$250,000; (2) making it a federal crime for anyone to use a trick to avoid FBI surveillance, or to give a misleading statement on a federal questionnaire; and (3) making it a crime to plan a demonstration or rally that could disrupt a government function, even if that demonstration never takes place. This bill allows for preventive detention. It would be legal to imprison people accused of a crime before they have been tried. It will permit, as does current law, the admission of evidence obtained by secret interrogation by police in the absence of counsel. S. 1722 targets anti-nuclear activists for special investigation and prosecution. Any destruction of property that occurs at a nuclear facility of any kind will become a new federal crime, even if the facility is not completed or operational. Even the planning or organizing of anti-nuclear demonstrations resulting in damage to property becomes a federal crime (Section 1702), punishable by up to 5 years in prison and a fine of \$250,000 for an individual and \$1,000,000 for organizations.

Repressive legislation against the anti-nuclear movement or individuals and communities objecting to any aspect of the nuclear industry is being enacted to protect the war industry. Repressive legislation is not necessary to protect solar or wind power. Unrestrained power and a military machine in the hands of the banks instead of the people is an ominous threat. Action of the people, by the people, and for the people must be taken now.

(Dr. Pisello is a physicist who teaches at Fordham University. He is also president of ACCORD Research and Educational Associates, a research and information dissemination agency dealing in environmental and public health issues. Dr. Leslie Freeman is a journalist.)





# Thoughts Of Peace ~ The Great Law

Not long ago I was engaged in a more or less idle conversation with a friend as we rode along one of the barren stretches of super-highway which infests North America these days. As we rode, my friend related a story about a Harvard-educated lawyer who was also a descendant of Seneca people. In a discussion about the contributions of Native peoples to the world, the assertion was raised that Native peoples had made great contributions to the world's thought as well as to its agriculture. The Harvard man was willing enough to admit that Native agriculture had benefitted the world, but he couldn't see how any Native thought was either admirable or of benefit to the people of the world. His was a typical response, but not a very informed one.



Haudenosaunee oral history relates that long before the Europeans arrived, Native peoples of the Northeast woodlands had reached a crisis. It is said that during this time, a man or woman might be killed or injured for any slight offense by his or her enemies, and that blood feuds between clans and villages ravaged the people until no one was safe. It was during this time that a male child was born to a woman of the Wyandot people living on the north side of Lake Ontario near the Bay of Quinte. It would become the custom of the people of the Longhouse that this person's name would never be spoken except during the recountings of this oral history in the oral fashion (some say during the Condolence ceremony) and at other times he is addressed simply as the Peacemaker.

The Peacemaker became one of the great political philosophers and organizers in human history. It is impossible in this short essay to discuss more than a brief outline of his ideas and accomplishments, but it should become obvious that his vision for humankind was indeed extraordinary.



He concluded early in life that the system of blood feuds as practiced by the people inhabiting the forest at that time needed to be abolished. His ideas were rejected by the Wyandot and other Huron peoples, and while a young man he journeyed to the land of the People of Flint located on the southeast shore of Lake Ontario and extending to the area called today the Mohawk Valley. The People of Flint, or Ganienkehaka, are known to English-speaking peoples as the Mohawks.

Upon arrival in the Mohawk country, he began seeking out those individuals who had the reputation as being the fiercest and most fearsome destroyers of human beings. He sought them out one at a time — murderers and hunters of humans, even cannibals — and he brought to each one his message. One by one he "straightened out their minds" as each grasped the principles that he set forth. Nine men of the Mohawks — the nine most feared men in all Mohawk country — grasped hold of his words and became his disciples.

The first principle that the Peacemaker set forth was indisputable to those who first heard his words. He said that it has come to pass that in this land human beings are seen to abuse one another. He pointed to the world in which people live and he said that people should consider that some force or some thing must have created this world and the people in it. The force which created this world — the Giver of Life — had not intended that human beings would abuse one another. Human beings whose minds are healthy always desire peace, and humans have minds which enable them to achieve peaceful resolutions to their conflicts.

From that initial explanation — that the Giver of Life (later addressed as The Great Creator) did not intend that human beings abuse one another — he proposed that human societies must form governments which will serve to prevent the abuse of human beings by other human beings, and which will ensure peace among nations and peoples. Government would be established for the purpose of abolishing war and robbery among brothers and to establish peace and quietness. He drew the Mohawks together under those principles and then went to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas with the same teachings. What is unique about his work is that he not only set forth the argument that government is desirable but he also set forth the principle — contained in no other constitution known to us — that government is specifically organized to prevent the abuse of human beings by cultivating a spiritually healthy society and the establishment of peace.

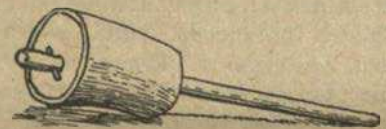
Other political philosophers and organizers have come to the conclusion that governments can be formed for the purpose of establishing tranquility, but the Peacemaker went considerably further than that. He argued not for the establishment of law and order, but for the full establishment of Peace. Peace was to be defined not as the simple absence of war or strife, but as the active striving of humans for the purpose of establishing universal justice. Peace was defined as the product of a society which strives to establish concepts which correlate to the English words Power, Reason and Righteousness.

**THE PEACEMAKER PROPOSED THAT IN EVERY INSTANCE HUMANS SHOULD USE EVERY EFFORT TO COUNCIL ABOUT, ARBITRATE AND NEGOTIATE THEIR DIFFERENCES... ALL MEN WHOSE MINDS ARE HEALTHY CAN DESIRE PEACE, HE TAUGHT, AND THERE IS AN ABILITY WITHIN ALL HUMAN BEINGS TO GRASP AND HOLD STRONGLY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.**

"Righteousness" refers to something akin to the shared ideology of the people using their purest and most unselfish minds. It occurs when the People put their minds and emotions in harmony with the flow of the universe and the intentions of the Good Mind or the Great Creator. The principles of Righteousness demand that all thoughts of prejudice, privilege or superiority be swept away and that recognition be given to the reality that the creation is intended for the benefit of all equally — even the birds and animals, the trees and the

insects, as well as the humans. The world does not belong to humans — it is the rightful property of the Great Creator. The gifts and benefits of the world, therefore, belong to all equally. The things which humans need to survive — food, clothing, shelter, protection — these are things to which all are entitled because they are gifts of the Great Creator. Nothing belongs to human beings, not even their labor or their skills, for ambition and abilities are also the gifts of the Great Creator. Therefore all people have a right to the things they need to survive — even those who do not or cannot work, and no person or people has a right to deprive others of the fruits of those gifts.

"Reason" is perceived to be the power of the human mind to make righteous decisions about complicated issues. The Peacemaker began his teachings based on the principle that human beings were given the gift of the power of Reason in order that they may settle their differences without the use of force. He proposed that in every instance humans should use every effort to council about, arbitrate and negotiate their differences, and that force should be resorted to only as a defense against the certain use of force. All men whose minds are healthy can desire peace, he taught, and there is an ability within all human beings, and especially in the young human beings, to grasp and hold strongly to the principles of Righteousness. The ability to grasp the principles of Righteousness is a spark within the individual which society must fan and nurture that it may grow. Reason is seen as the skill which humans must be encouraged to acquire in order that the objectives of justice may be attained and no one's right abused.



Having established the concepts of Righteousness and Reason, the Peacemaker went on to discuss the nature of "Power". The Power to enact a true Peace is the product of a unified people on the path of Righteousness and Reason — the ability to enact the principles of Peace through education, public opinion and political and, when necessary, military unity. The "Power" that the Peacemaker spoke of was intended to enable the followers of the law to call upon warring or quarrelling parties to lay down their arms and to begin peaceful settlement of their disputes. Peace, as the Peacemaker understood it, flourished only in a garden amply fertilized with absolute and pure justice. It was the product of a spiritually conscious society using its abilities at reason which resulted in a healthy society. The Power to enact Peace (which required that people cease abusing one another) was conceived to be both spiritual and political.

But it was power in all those senses of the word — the power of persuasion and reason, the power of the inherent good will of humans, the power of a dedicated and united People, and, when all else failed, the power of force.

The principles of law set forth by the Peacemaker sought to establish peaceful society by eliminating the causes of conflict between individuals and between peoples. It was a law which was conceived prior to the appearance of classes and it sought to anticipate and eliminate anything which took the appearance of group or class interest even in the form of clan or tribal interest, especially in the area of property. The law was also based to an impressive degree on a logic which looked to Nature for its rules. It is one of the few examples of a "Natural law" which is available to modern man. It is a law which clearly precedes "royal" law, or "mercantile" law or "bourgeois" property-interest law.

The government which is established under the Great Law provides, in effect, that the leaders or "chiefs" are the servants of the people. Everyone in the Six Nations,



wherever the law prevails, has direct participation in the workings of the government. Direct democracy, when it involves tens of thousands of people, is a very complex business, and there are many rules about how meetings are conducted, but the primary rule about the flow of power and authority is clearly that the power and authority of the people lies with the people and is transmitted by them through the "chiefs." The fact that all the people have direct participation in the decision of their government is the key factor for the success and longevity of the Haudenosaunee.

Internally, the law was to be the power by which the people were united ideologically and administratively under a dispute settlement process to which all had agreed to submit, and to remove those customs of the past which had sparked conflict and fostered disunity. The path to unity was a difficult one indeed. The territory of the People of the Longhouse had been composed of five distinct countries, each of which sometimes jealously guarded their hunting lands from intrusion by the others. The Peacemaker abolished the concept of separate territories. The law unified the peoples, saying that they were distinct from one another only because they spoke different languages, and that the territories were common to all and that each individual member of any of the nations had full rights of hunting and occupation of all the lands of all the nations of the People of the Longhouse.

In terms of the internal affairs of the People of the Longhouse, the first and most important principle was that under the law all of the people of the nations were one people. Since the Haudenosaunee call themselves the People of the Longhouse, the Peacemaker's admonition was that under the law, the country of the Haudenosaunee was itself a longhouse, with the sky as its roof and the earth as its floor. The peoples were assigned to clans by the Peacemaker, and so strong was to be the feeling of unity and oneness between them that members of the clan of one nation were admonished not to marry members of the same clan of another nation, so closely were they now related. The law bound them together as blood relatives.

In one motion, he abolished exclusive national territories and the concept of national minorities. Any member of the Five Nations was to have full rights in the country of any of the Five Nations with only one restriction — that he or she did not have the right to hold high public office, though that right could be conferred upon them by the host nation if they so wished.

The idea that the nations were united as one meant that the nations who were members of the Confederacy had agreed to surrender a part of their sovereignty to the other nations of the Confederacy. The Confederacy Council was to be the forum under which foreign nations and peoples could approach the Peoples of the Longhouse. Any decision concerning the disposition of Seneca lands must first pass through the Confederacy Council where the other nations, who also have rights in Seneca lands, can participate in the decision-making process.

The Peacemaker envisioned that the principles under which the Five Nations were governed could be extended far beyond the borders of the Haudenosaunee to all peoples of the world. The law of the Peacemaker provides that any nation or people may find protection under the Great Tree of Peace which symbolized the laws of the Confederacy. He expected that the principles of the Confederacy would be well received by many nations, and that the Haudenosaunee would venture

forth with the offer of a union which would be designed to prevent hostilities and to lay the basis of peaceful coexistence. With that in mind, the Constitution of the Five Nations provides that any nation may seek its protection through becoming knowledgeable about the law and agreeing to follow the principles set forth in it. Many Native nations accepted that offer.

The Five Nations agreed among themselves that in the event of an attack, they would organize a military force to repel the invader and to carry on the war in the invader's country until the war was concluded. The opponent had an absolute right to a cessation of the hostilities at any time by simply calling for a truce. At that point, the process of negotiation went into action. The Constitution of the Five Nations prescribes that, in the event that another people are conquered, the Five Nations shall not impose upon them the Five Nations' religion, nor collect tribute from them, nor subject them to any form of injustice. The Five Nations would not seize their territory. What was demanded was that the offending nation of people put away their weapons of war and that they cease military aggression.

Any individual or group of individuals had the right, according to the Constitution, to approach the Five Nations, learn of the law, and agree to abide by it. When that happened, they were to be offered the protection of the law and the People of the Longhouse.

The vision of the Peacemaker that all the peoples of the world would live in peace under the protection of a law that required that hostilities be outlawed and disputes offered a settlement process is yet today an exciting prospect. When the idea of a United Nations of the world was proposed toward the end of World War II, researchers were dispatched to find models in history for such an organization. For all practical purposes, the only model they found concerned the Constitution of the Five Nations whose author had envisioned exactly that.

In a way, the Peacemaker was centuries ahead of his time. He set forth a system of governmental organization which was a marvelously complex of enactment of the concept of participatory (as opposed to representative) democracy. Under the rules of the law, councils of women appointed men who were to act more as conduits of the will of the people than as independent representatives of the people. The society was founded on concepts of moral justice and not of statute law, and the rules of the society were designed to insure that each member's rights were absolutely protected under the law. Women have not only rights but have power as a community of people composing half of the population. The powers of women have never been fully articulated by Western observers and interpreters of Haudenosaunee culture.

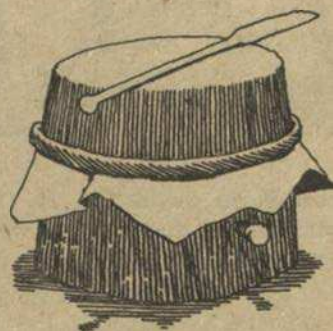
Peoples were recognized to have a right to exist unmolested as peoples in the articles of the Constitution. Individuals were recognized as having the full rights to protection under the laws of the Confederacy — even individuals who were not members of the host nation — so long as they observed the rules of non-aggression and they didn't try to create factionalism among the People. The principle was set forth (and machinery to enact it was created) which provided that all peoples have a right to occupy their lands peacefully and that no one may deny them that right. A society was socialized to the ideology that if an injustice occurs, it is their moral duty to defend the oppressed against their oppressors.

The principle was set forth that no one has a right to deprive another of the fruits of his own labor, and that no one has a right to a greater share of the wealth of society than any one else. The Peacemaker believed that if absolute justice were established in the world, Peace would naturally follow.

Some of those ideas have begun to take root in the form of United Nations statements and declarations made in recent years. The genius of the Peacemaker was that he not only set forth the principles, but he also designed the machinery by which those principles might be enforced. He seems to have operated on the assumption that universal justice is the product of a spiritually strong society, and many of the rules which he proposed are designed to create a strong society rather than a strong government. That is one of the ideas that have not been widely accepted in the Twentieth Century and certainly not in a context that the Peacemaker would have understood.

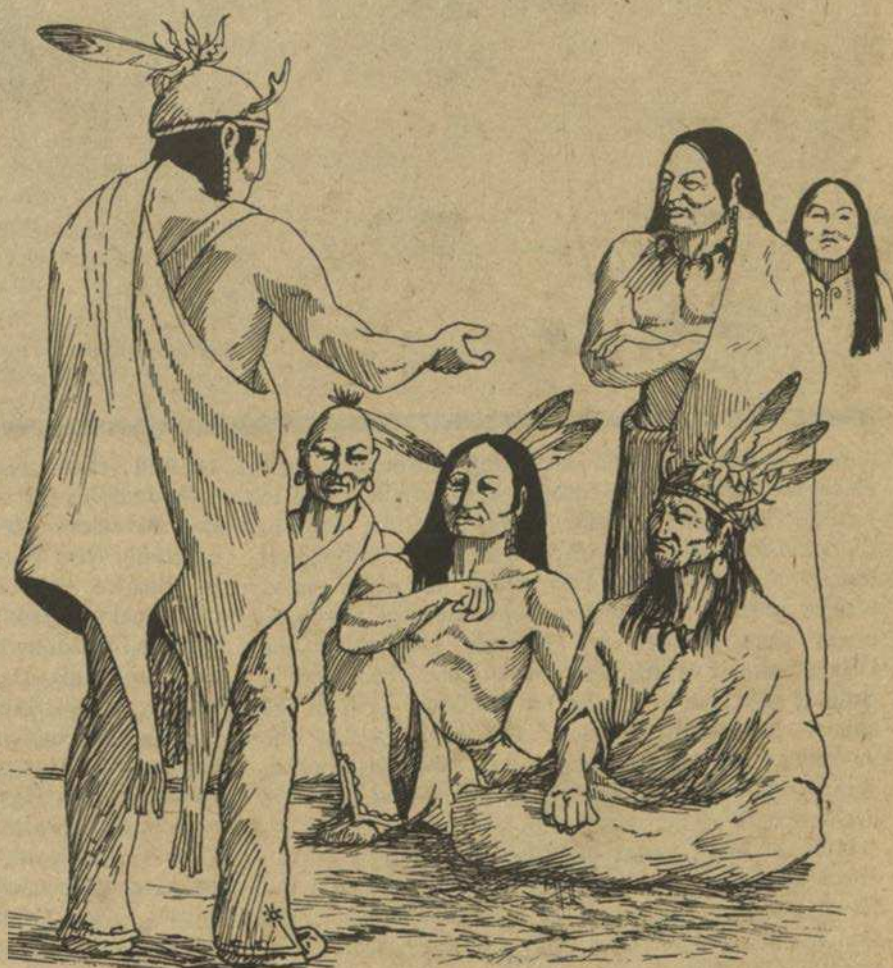
The Peacemaker set out to give some order to society and to create peace among peoples and nations. The rules that he set down were called by the Mohawks "the Great Goodness", and by the Senecas "the Great Law". The English called that body of teachings the Constitution of the Five Nations. It has never been written down in English despite allegations to the contrary by anthropologists. The versions which exist in English are highly inadequate efforts compared to the oral version of the Great Law. This effort is no better — it does not compare in any way to the complexity, beauty and eloquence of the Law.

Some people who have read the history of the Haudenosaunee will be able to point to episodes in the 17th and 18th centuries during which some of the principles of this law appear to have been ignored. It is true that over nearly two centuries of intermittent warfare — warfare caused by pressures created by the expanding interests of European imperial nations — there was a considerable amount of social change and stress. French imperialist missionaries introduced the



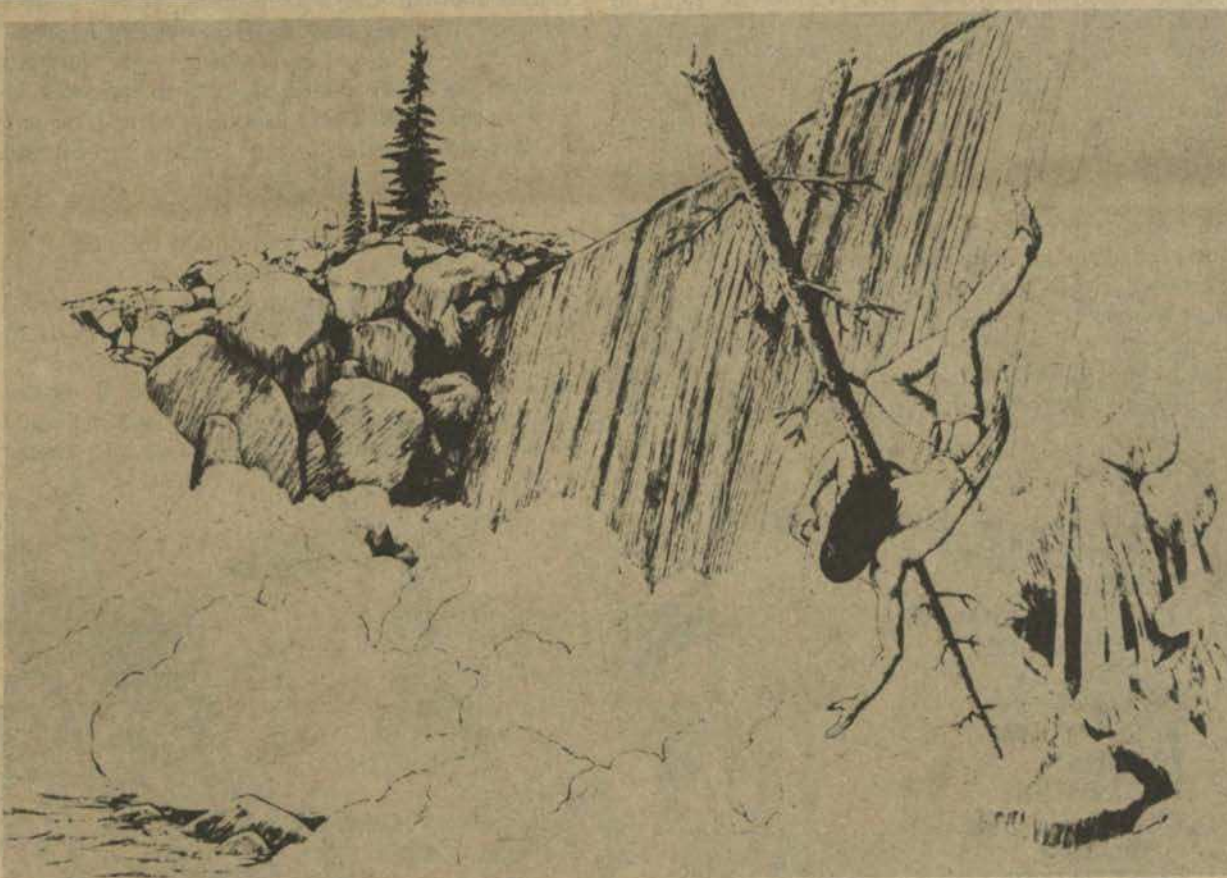
THE PRINCIPLES OF  
RIGHTEOUSNESS  
DEMAND  
THAT ALL THOUGHTS  
OF PREJUDICE,  
PRIVILEGE,  
OR SUPERIORITY  
BE SWEEPED AWAY  
AND THAT  
RECOGNITION  
BE GIVEN TO THE  
REALITY  
THAT THE CREATION  
IS INTENDED  
FOR THE BENEFIT  
OF ALL  
EQUALLY

EVEN THE BIRDS  
AND ANIMALS,  
THE TREES  
AND THE INSECTS,  
AS WELL AS  
THE HUMANS.  
THE WORLD  
DOES NOT BELONG  
TO HUMANS —  
IT IS THE  
RIGHTFUL PROPERTY  
OF THE  
GREAT CREATOR.





# 1981 CALENDAR AVAILABLE SOON !



idea — an entirely foreign idea — that a divine will might guide the fortunes of a people in government and in warfare. That kind of thinking was not to be found in the philosophies of the Peacemaker, but throughout history it has been an idea which has accompanied empire builders everywhere. Many ideas of European origin were adopted by different peoples of the Haudenosaunee at different times, ideas which were in conflict with the principles of the Great Law. In the almost two centuries since the beginning of the so-called "reservation" period, many more ideas which are in conflict with the principles of the Great Law have been imposed by the colonizers.

Most of what passes as "Iroquois history" was an effort by English or French historians to discredit the Haudenosaunee and to justify the destruction of the Confederacy and the theft of Confederacy lands. There were few instances in which officials of the Confederacy

violated the laws of the Great Peace, although individuals in any society do violate its laws. Following the American Revolution, the United States and especially New York State did everything in their power to dissolve the Confederacy and to deal with the individual nations. Great Britain, Canada, Ontario and Quebec have done the same thing. Since the invasion of the Europeans, the Haudenosaunee have produced a number of patriots but few great philosophers. The outstanding Haudenosaunee philosopher and teacher of the post-contact period was also a Confederacy chief. His name was Handsome Lake and he led a spiritual revitalization which produced an oral document called "The Good Word," a teaching on the same level of significance and power in Haudenosaunee culture as the Great Law. Combined, the two are a powerful teaching.

Against incredible odds, the Confederacy has survived

Next year's calendar features the epic version of the founding of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. Included in its entirety is the story of the **White Roots of Peace** the book by Dr. Paul A Wallace.

Also included (in the date boxes) are all one hundred and seventeen sections of **KAIANEREKOWA, The Great Law**, which is the constitutional basis upon which the Iroquois League of Nations was founded.

Calendar artwork, by **KAHIONHES** (John Fadden), depicts twelve dramatic scenes in the chronology of events leading up to the actual founding of the Confederacy and the beginning of the Great Peace. The cover is a **FULL COLOUR** reproduction of a beautiful painting (take our word for it!) of our planet, titled **IAKONKWE** (woman), also by **KAHIONHES**. Calendar production and promotion by **PICTOGRAPHICS**. Calendar Design by **ROKWAHO**.

The **White Roots of Peace** will soon be available in book form from the **CENTER FOR ADIRONDACK STUDIES**, North Country Community College, 20 Winona Avenue, Saranac Lake, N.Y. 12983. Illustrated by **KAHIONHES**.

The **AKWESASNE NOTES** calendars have always had tremendous acclaim, and each year we have had to reprint several times to keep up with the demand. The calendar pages have historical notes for most of the days of the events in American history not always reported in the textbooks. Each month has a large handsome illustration and quotation — the drawings depicted here are an example of some of the artwork from the 1981 calendar.

Our calendars hang in classrooms, offices and homes throughout North America, and when the year is over, the artwork is often cut off to make attractive permanent posters. These calendars are good items for fund-raising, especially for Native causes.



and has continued to this day. Its Chiefs continue to meet periodically at the capital at Onondaga, and they continue to carry the titles bestowed upon them by the Peacemaker long before written history began. The ideas of the Confederacy continue to live also, and little by little the world is being exposed to those ideas. As long as those ideas remain alive, the possibility remains that the Peacemaker's vision of a world in peace and harmony may yet be realized.



# SHORT NOTES

## THE MULTATIONALS AND HEALTH OF OUR FAMILIES

One telling characteristic of multinational corporations is that they exist solely to enlarge their own margins of profit in a world with no boundaries. Their destructive influence on the health of Native Peoples is well documented in instances such as the Infant Formual Action Coalition boycott on the producers of Infant formulas, the W.A.R.N. study on health abuse effects of low-level radiation at Pine Ridge, S.D., sterilization and the theft of natural resources from Third World countries.

Population control is a critical area where Native people suffer from the multinationals. In this instance, Native peoples are victims of Malthusian ideology. The implication is that overpopulation creates poverty, so the applied value is family planning — at any expense — in the Third World. Ironically, the reality is that the wealth of the lands of Native Peoples has generated their poverty by feeding the prosperity of others — the multinationals who have created false needs and a way of living in communities outside the Third World which the Third World must pay for. In recent years, this dynamic has been reversed. Corporations are creating new markets in the impoverished Third World, particularly for products that adversely affect women and children. With the help of government programs, infant formulas, unapproved drugs, and experimental methodologies find their way to Native families, and we, in practice, become guinea pigs for marketing analysts.

One important, specific example of this process is the current Depo-Provera controversy. Depo-Provera is a long-acting birth control shot for women which is manufactured by the Upjohn Co. and has not been approved for contraceptive use by the Food and Drug Administration. The drug, however, is being administered to poor and minority women across the world, usually without their informed consent, and it has been documented that physicians and other health care professionals do not have access to the information necessary for making a scientific assessment of Depo-Provera. What is known is that the drug has many serious side effects: menstrual dysfunctions (irregular bleeding, heavy bleeding, or no bleeding at all), decreased libido, severe depression, migraine headaches, dizziness, nausea, weight gain, diabetic stress, allergic

## RIP—OFF OF COMMODITIES CHARGED

South Dakota's Attorney General Mark Meierhenry led a raid on June 11 which shut down a government food warehouse on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He says that he will ask federal officials to launch a major investigation of government food assistance on Indian reservations in South Dakota, alleging a \$500,000 food theft scheme on the Pine Ridge Reservation. About one-third of the people on Pine Ridge benefit from the assistance program operated by the U.S. Agriculture Department. An Oglala Sioux tribal attorney Jerry Matthews sharply criticized Meierhenry's actions, charging that he showed "a very callous attitude on the part of state officials." The shutdown will force needy Indians to buy food from stores at retail prices.

## THE LONG WALK FOR SURVIVAL

The Long Walk for Survival began on June 1, 1980 with ceremonies on Alcatraz Island and San Francisco Bay. It is scheduled to arrive in Washington on November 1, just before national elections. The walk is open to all people. No drugs, alcohol or weapons are allowed on the walk. The Walk is a spiritual walk calling for the end of uranium mining and all nuclear development, for the end of draft registration, and war preparations, and for the end of world hunger. Walk organizers state: "We are in need of all kinds of support. We would like to ask your organization to write a letter stating that you support the Walk and its goals." Please send these letters to the clearinghouse re: Long Walk for Survival, c/o NIYC, 201 Hermosa Ave N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108.

reactions, long-term infertility and possible permanent sterility in amny women after they have stopped taking the drug.

Depo-Provera has also been associated with an increased risk of cancer of the cervix, has been shown to cause breast cancer in dogs, and has been associated with the malformation of fetuses in women who are pregnant when given the drug. *Depo-Provera is passed on in breast milk at the same level of concentration as is found in the mother's bloodstream*, and the drug is particularly being recommended for use immediately after birth and during breast-feeding. This has serious long-term implications for the health and safety of the child. Depending on the dose, Depo-Provera makes women infertile for three to six months or longer. An injection of DP consists of a massive dose of a synthetic hormone

called progestogen, one of the hormones found in the birth control pill. Depending on the dose, Depo-Provera makes women infertile for three to six months or longer! The drug interferes with the normal pattern of hormonal changes of the menstrual cycle to suppress ovulation.

Over the past 15 years, an estimated five million women have been given Depo-Provera. It was first used as a contraceptive in 1963. Upjohn co. has yet to establish the longterm safety of the drug, and the opinions and reports they have made available to the public and medical community are tied to millions of dollars in risk capital and unrealized profits.

We know that Native American women have had Depo-Provera administered to them in family planning clinics on the reservations and in urban areas, often without their informed consent, and using federal funds, despite the disapproval of the FDA for such use. Several years ago, the Tundra Times in Alaska reported the use of Depo-Provera on Native women patients in a mental institution in that state. We would like to hear from anyone who has had the injection, or is aware of its use in their community. We encourage Native women and Native Women's organizations to start collecting information on the use and effects of Depo-Provera in your area, and to send any relevant information to:

Katsi Cook  
Women's Dance Health Program  
PO Box 27  
Owl's Head, NY 12969

## ATTORNEY SKIP GLENN IS DEAD

On July 28, attorney Franklin "Skip" Glenn passed into the Spirit world. With his passing, the legal community supporting the Indian Movement has lost a strong and steady voice. Skip was with the National Lawyers Guild, and he defended such Indian activists as Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk. He was born 39 years ago in Rapid City, S.D.. At the funeral on August 1, musician-activist Floyd Westerman stated that Skip was a warrior of the white nation, and a fighter for justice. Skips' life remains as an example to the legal community. At the time of his death, he was about to begin working with the Nez Perce in their struggle for their fishing and other treaty rights, and had begun to represent another Guild attorney, Lew Gurwitz, who had been arrested with the Nez Perce in Idaho. A fund has been set up for his three sons: Glenn Memorial Fund, Bank of America, Highland-Arrowhead Branch, San Bernadino, CA.

## AMAX CORPORATION IN AUSTRALIA

The AMAX Corporation has been trying to drill for oil in an area of Northwest Australia known as the Kimberly region since 1978. The Kimberly Land Council, which represents forty Aborigine communities in Australia, has opposed the drilling efforts because the Native people of Australia believe the land to be sacred. Confrontations between the Aborigines and their supporters and the police have resulted in over twenty arrests as of mid-August. Native people and their supporters state that the government has been using this issue as a tool to quiet the larger land claim issues which the Aborigines have voiced.

## MARIA MARTINEZ REMEMBERED

Maria Martinez is dead. Maria, a world-reknown potter, died on July 20 at her home at San Ildefonso Pueblo. She was born in 1886 and had been a potter since the age of 12. She was 94.

## FIRST PEACE PAGODA IN WESTERN WORLD

On September 21, 1980 inaugural ceremonies will be held in England to dedicate the first Peace Pagoda in the Western world. The Peace Pagoda is a symbol of the spiritual message imparted by Japanese Buddhist spiritual leader Nichidatsu Fujii which calls on the world to renounce nuclear weaponry as the greatest danger to the survival of the human race.

## COLVILLE CASE AFFIRMS STATE'S RIGHT TO TAX CIGARETTE SALES

On June 10, 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision in the *Cobville* case. In that case several Indian Tribes in the State of Washington challenged the authority of the state to impose its cigarette and retail sales tax on sales made by tribally licensed Indian retailers to non-Indians. In addition, the State sought to impose its motor vehicle excise and mobilehome, camper and trailer taxes, which are imposed on the privilege of using the covered vehicles within the state, to vehicles owned by the Tribes or their members and used both on and off the reservation.

In a split decision the Court held that: (1) the Tribes have the power to tax non-Indians transacting business on the reservation, (2) there was no direct conflict between the tribe's tax laws and the state's tax laws so as to hold that the state could not enforce their tax laws against non-Indian and non-member Indians doing business on the reservations, even though to do so would reduce tribal revenues or eliminate tribal programs supported by those revenues, (3) the state may require a "tribal smokeshop" to collect the state tax, affix tax stamps and keep certain records regarding tribal sales made to non-members of the tribe, (4) the state's interest in enforcing its tax laws are sufficient to allow the state to seize unstamped cigarettes on route to the reservation as contraband, and (5) the state cannot impose its motor vehicle taxes upon vehicles owned by the Tribes or their members even though the vehicles are used both on and off the reservation. (From the CALIFORNIA INDIAN LEGAL SERVICES NEWSLETTER.)

## DENNIS BANKS, FOUR OTHERS ON TRIAL IN OREGON

Dennis Banks, his wife Kamook Banks, Kenneth Moses Loudhawk, Russell James Redner and Leonard Peltier went on trial in Portland Oregon on June 23, 1980. They are charged in a 5-year-old case involving possession of alleged explosives and firearms. The case was dismissed 4 years ago by U.S. District Judge Robert Belloni when the government said it was not ready to proceed without dynamite evidence suppressed earlier by the Judge. Last year, the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Belloni's dismissal of the case. Boston trial attorney Lew Gerwitz is representing the defendants. In an opening statement, he told the court, "I have never seen such oppression as is being practiced against the American Indian Movement." The U.S. Justice Department and the State of South Dakota have made every effort to jail Banks and the others since their participation in the incident at Wounded Knee in 1973.





# SHORT NOTES

## LADONNA HARRIS A VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Barry Commoner and the Citizen's Party have nominated LaDonna Harris as a vice presidential candidate. Mrs. Harris' connections with energy development corporations and her role as "mother of CERT" (Council of Energy Resource Tribes) have placed her allegiances in question. *New Age* magazine reported: "Unless she comes out strongly against uranium mining and other high-impact resource development, her nomination may seriously undercut the support of environmentalists for the Citizens' Party."

## CARTER ADMINISTRATION BACKS MAINE LAND CLAIM

Not surprisingly, the Carter Administration has endorsed an \$81.5 million federal settlement which will extinguish the claims of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Nations to 12.5 million acres of land in Maine. Secretary of Interior Cecil Andrus, testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, said that the administration feared that language in the bill could require financial commitments from the federal government beyond the \$81.5 million. He said the administration does not object to that amount.

## THANKSGIVING DAY CELEBRATES A MASSACRE

William B. Newell, a Penobscot Indian and former chairman of the anthropology department at the University of Connecticut, says that the first official Thanksgiving Day celebrated the massacre of 700 Indian men, women and children during one of their religious ceremonies. "Thanksgiving Day was first officially proclaimed by the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637 to commemorate the massacre of 700 men, women and children who were celebrating their annual green corn dance — Thanksgiving Day to them — in their own house," he said. "Gathered in this place of meeting, they were attacked by mercenaries and English and Dutch. The Indians were ordered from the building and as they came forth they were shot down. The rest were burned alive in the building. . . the very next day the governor declared a Thanksgiving Day. . . For the next 100 years, every Thanksgiving Day ordained by a governor [was to honor a bloody victory, thanking God that the battle had been won.]"

## LOUIS T. COOK ARRESTED, BEATEN

On Saturday, June 14, WSLU-FM employee Louis T. Cook was arrested, beaten, and charged with assault and resisting arrest while trying to cover the story of the State Police/Vigilante siege of Raquette Point at Akwesasne. The WSLU-FM staff issued the following statement of support for Mr. Cook: "Based upon our knowledge and understanding of the situation and events of June 14, we believe that Mr. Cook did nothing whatsoever to warrant or provoke the arrest, rough handling and confiscation of his reporting tools. (Camera and tape recorder.) . . We find it curious that other reporters on the scene that day, who were similarly engaged in news reporting, suffered neither arrest nor confiscation of equipment. We cannot help but wonder if the singling out of Mr. Cook had something to do with the fact that he is Akwesasne Mohawk. It is deeply disturbing to us that the treatment Mr. Cook received may have been motivated by racial discrimination." Some of the WSLU-FM staff witnessed Mr. Cook's arrest and beating by New York State Troopers and Vigilantes.

## NEZ PERCE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

The State of Idaho is engaged in a serious and deadly attack on Indian treaty rights. Fishermen of the Nez Perce Tribe have been arrested, fined, jailed, assaulted and had their fish confiscated by state police and game

wardens enforcing the closure of Rapid River where the Nez Perce have fished for thousands of years. For the last three years the river has been closed to fishing during the Spring salmon run, allegedly because of depletion of the run. Aside from the obvious fact that the real threat to the fish lies not in the subsistence needs of the Indians but in the massive commercial and sports fishing in and around the mouth of the Columbia River and the many energy-generating dams along its length which turn the water red with mangled fish, the tribe's right to fish at Rapid River is guaranteed by a treaty negotiated in 1855.

At Rapid River just a few weeks ago, 20-30 state police and game wardens armed with rifles and shotguns marched through the camp of Indian families to issue citations to fishermen and take their fish. The state appears determined to break the treaty by denying the Indians their right to fish, whatever the cost. Thirty-five people face criminal charges for fishing in defiance of the ban. Three men, including Lew Gurwitz, an attorney from Boston who represents tribal members, face charges stemming from a physical confrontation with armed police. A federal suit seeking an injunction against the state's actions is being prepared. To help support the survival of the Nez Perce people, send donations to: Nez Perce Fishermen's Committee, P.O. Box 542, Lapwai, Idaho 83540.

## ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

## AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation  
via Roosevelttown, New York 13683  
(518)358-9531

## EDUCATION — "BACK TO BASICS OF SURVIVAL"

The "Little Wound Survival Camp" is the educational brainstorm of George Amiotte who is a consultant for the senior class and the Bilingual programs at the Little Wound School.

While most schools are just realizing how beneficial it would be to include some type of Indian studies or develop some type of Indian curriculum, this school on the Pine Ridge reservation has not only developed alternatives, but is implementing them.

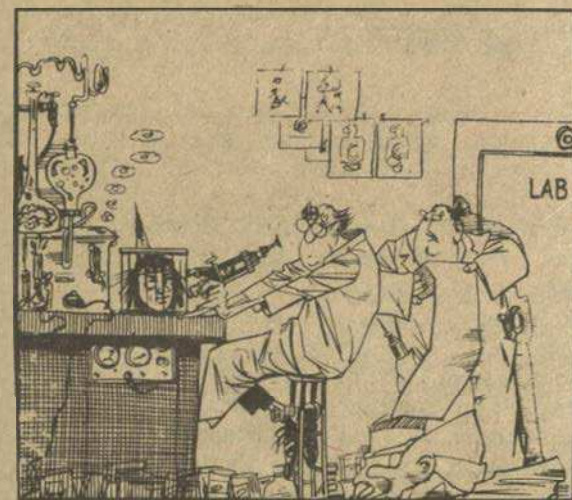
The survival camp session are three to four days long and are designed so the students will learn to survive without modern conveniences. They learn skills in building a temporary shelter, how to use a knife and skills in hunting small mammals. They also learn how to catch fish and poultry for food.

This type of curriculum opens a Pandora's box of ideas for survival curriculum. Along with survival comes appreciation for the natural world and most importantly, involvement with the natural world. Right on!!

## PRODUCTION OF SEEDS IS THE LATEST QUARRY OF THE MULTINATIONALS

A very serious matter in the realm of seed production has been developed in the last few years, which if not brought to a halt and indeed reversed, will result in seed being patented, hybridized, and controlled by a few multinationals.

Do we want the large drug corporations, the petrochemical companies, the agricultural chemical



"Bad news, doctor . . . we're running out of Mohawks.  
We may have to go back to mice!!"

companies, to determine what seeds will be allowed on the market, and who will market them

This would mean that they would hold the patents on seeds. It would see the disappearance of at least 2000 varieties of vegetable seeds.

If this development of hybrid seeds and decreasing varieties becomes law, by 1981 it will be illegal for many of the vegetable seeds that we now use to be available to the European common market countries.

Purex, Union Carbide, Upjohn, ITT, Bayer and Shell have their clutches on seeds, and mainly hybrids would be available. These are far less disease resistant than the strong genetic varieties, so that chemical pesticides and fertilizers would be used even more than they are now.

This is happening just at a time when more people are awakening to the fact that artificial fertilizers and pesticides do more harm than good. These people are going into organic or natural methods of gardening and farming, and would it not be a tragedy if the only seeds they could buy were chemically treated, and the variety determined by those chemical companies who sell the materials for treatment!

"Unless we preserve the *ancestral strains* of the highly refined modern food crops we have developed, we will be increasingly vulnerable to new strains of pests or blights which can sweep through monoculture like devastating firestorms." (Jan., Feb. 1977 issue of Natural Resources Defence Council Inc. 15th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.)

"The loss of genetic diversity in agriculture has already become one of the world's least recognized major problems," also from 1977 N.R.D.C.

According to Northwest Exchange (Box 737, Blaine, Wash. 98230) for January 1980, "The U.S. Congress passed the Plant Variety Protection Act of 1970 to establish a plant patenting system here. . . It will prohibit U.S. gardeners and farmers from selling any seed not patented. . . However, there will be great advantage for those multinational corporations who are hungering to control the food market, and push their chemicals. . . When the traditional plant varieties are lost, their genetic material is also lost forever."

People who are interested in pursuing this latest onslaught on our democratic rights to buy what seeds we choose for ourselves should read *Seeds of the Earth*, by Pat Mooney, which is available for \$5 from the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, 321 Chapel St., Ottawa, Ontario (or ask your library to get it).

One quote from this book gives a good idea of how serious this question is:

"Genetic islands are virtually created around each patented variety to reduce ownership challenges in courts. The 'illegal' varieties can neither be commercially sold, nor grown if they cross-pollinate in proximity to a commercial 'legal' variety."

Readers, if interested, can help by writing to their M.P., to the department of agriculture, provincially and federally, opposing this serious threat, not only to our health, but to our freedom of choice.

By Eve Smith (from: Northern Times)



# Marxism Is A European Tradition

(Editors Note: The Black Hills International Survival Gathering, organized by the Black Hills Alliance, took place this past July. Some 15,000 people participated in the ten-day event. There were many workshops, speakers from various movements and countries and, we've been told, a great deal of exchange of information and perception.

Several documents emerged at the Gathering that we'd like to present in our pages. Among them are: Russell Means' analysis of Marxism and American Indian struggles; Winona LaDuke's report on the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (C.E.R.T.); the Gathering's final Declaration of Dependence on the Land.

Micheal Garrity, one of the organizers, observes:

"Everyone came to participate and not to watch. A typical day began when the sun came up. A kitchen crew of great resource and ingenuity managed to feed about one-third of the people two meals a day, offering macrobiotic, vegetarian and meat dishes. Thousands of gallons of water were trucked in each day.

After breakfast workshops began at 8:00 am. An hour later the Forum on Indian Genocide and the Planned Extinction of the Family Ranch and Farm took the main stage to begin the morning's presentations. The Forum combined Native Peoples, local ranchers, farmers and experts to present example after example of the continuing governmental and corporate policies forcing small farmers and ranchers and Native Peoples from their lands. The camp was reminded by speaker after speaker that there is a new Indian these days: the small family farmer and rancher. Already the family farm and ranch stand as the equivalents of reservations existing amid checkerboards of corporate owned lands. The farmers came to tell their stories listened as the Native Peoples of this hemisphere told theirs'. Native Peoples came from Canada, Mexico, Hawaii, South and Central American and from the American southwest, west, east, northwest, and south to camp and council with their brothers and sisters of the Plains on how best to resist the white man's newest land-grab schemes for uranium, coal and the MX missile.

After the Forum had left the stage in the early afternoon there were more workshops and music from the stage. By then folks were looking for shade. At 7:00 pm, the Citizen's Review Commission on the Energy Developing Corporations took the stage. Through nine sessions the Review Commission explored the history of the Hills and the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty, multi-national corporations, and took a look at energy wars being fought on foreign and domestic fronts. Of particular note was the appearance of Ricardo Vargas, the cultural and labor attache of the Nicaraguan Embassy, who came to express his solidarity with the Lakota People and to celebrate one year of freedom for the Nicaraguan people from Somoza's rule. He appeared during an international evening session which also featured a representative of the Irish anti-nuclear movement, the director of an English anti-colonialism organization, and a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Following the Review Commission each evening was music and a chance to relax and listen to Floyd Westerman, Jim Page, the Thunderbird Sisters or any of a number of other talented movement musicians. There were also a bevy of MUSE rock 'n' rollers. After the music everyone but security got to go to bed.

As for the Alliance, its work continues in South Dakota as the November elections approach. On the ballot in November is an initiative to give the people of the state a chance to veto any further uranium exploration, mining and milling activity in the state. The chance to score a very significant victory against the energy developing corporations exists. The work of the Alliance will be directed at educating the people of the state about the dangers of the front-end of the fuel chain to ensure that no further mining or milling takes place in the state. This is what the Gathering was all about. Stopping the uranium mining in the Hills and elsewhere around the state will mean that the Gathering was a success. Both TVA and Union Carbide have all but stopped their exploration and mining activities waiting for the outcome of the vote.

## MARXISM AS A EUROPEAN TRADITION

by Russell Means

I

The only possible opening for a statement of this kind is that I detest writing. The process itself epitomizes the European concept of "legitimate" thinking; what is written has an importance that is denied the spoken. My culture, the Lakota culture, has an oral tradition and so I ordinarily reject writing. It is one of the white world's ways of destroying the cultures of non-European peoples, the imposing of an abstraction over the spoken relationship of a people.

So what you read here is not what I've written. It's what I've said and someone else has written down. I will allow this, because it seems that the only way to communicate with the white world is through the dead, dry leaves of a book. I don't really care whether my words reach whites or not. They've already demonstrated through their history that they can't hear, can't see, they can only read (of course, there are exceptions, but the exceptions only prove the rule). I'm more concerned with American Indian people, students, and others, who've begun to be absorbed into the white world through universities and other institutions. But even then it's a marginal sort of concern. It's very possible to grow into a red face with a white mind and if that's a person's individual choice, so be it. This is part of the cultural genocide being waged by Europeans against American Indian peoples today. My concern is with those American Indians who choose to resist this genocide, but who may be confused as to how to proceed.

It takes a strong effort on the part of each American Indian *not* to become Europeanized. The strength for this effort can only come from the traditional ways, the traditional values that our elders retain. It must come from the hoop, the four directions, the relations; it cannot come from the pages of a book or a thousand books; no European can ever teach a Lakota to be a Lakota, a Hopi to be a Hopi. A master's degree in "Indian Studies" or in "education" or anything else cannot make a person into a human being or provide knowledge into the traditional ways. It can only make

you into a mental European, an outsider.

I should be clear about something here, because there seems to be some confusion about it. When I speak of Europeans or mental Europeans, I'm not allowing for false distinctions. I'm not saying that on the one hand there are the byproducts of a few thousand years of genocidal, reactionary European intellectual development which is bad and, on the other hand there is some new revolutionary intellectual development which is good. I'm referring here to the so-called theories of Marxism and anarchism and "leftism" in general. I don't believe these theories can be separated from the rest of the European intellectual tradition. It's really just the same old song.

Take Christianity as an historical example. In its day Christianity was revolutionary. It changed European power relations for all time; that is, unless you happen to think the Roman Empire is still a dominant military force. But European culture, of which Christianity became a part, acted on the religion in such a way as to use it as a tool for the destruction of non-European peoples, for the expansion of European military and economic power across the planet, for the consolidation of the European nation-states, for the formation of the capitalist economic system. The Christian revolution or revolutions were an important part of the development of European culture in directions it was already headed, it changed nothing other than to speed up Europe's genocide outside Europe, and maybe inside Europe too.

The same holds true for the capitalist and other European "revolutions". They changed power relations within Europe around a bit, but only to meet the needs of the white world at the expense of everyone and everything else.

Newton "revolutionized" physics and the so-called natural sciences by reducing the physical universe to a linear mathematical equation. Descartes did the same thing with culture. John Locke did it with politics and Adam Smith did it with economics. Each one of these "thinkers" took a piece of the spirituality of human existence and converted it into a code, an abstraction. They were picking up where Christianity ended, they "secularized" Christian religion as the "scholars" like to say — and in doing this they made Europe more able and ready to act as an expansionist culture. Each of these intellectual revolutions served to abstract the European



Russell Means, center, singing at a 1974 AIM gathering. The traditional Native Peoples have always described their struggles as fundamentally spiritual movements — a much misunderstood approach to political work among Westernized peoples.



mentality even further, to remove the wonderful complexity and spirituality from the universe and replace it with a "logical sequence". This is what's come to be termed as "efficiency" in the European mind. Whatever is mechanical is perfect, whatever seems to work at the moment — that is, proves the mechanical model is the right one — is considered correct even when it is clearly untrue. This is why "truth" changes so fast in the European mind, the answers which result from such a process are only stop-gaps, only temporary, and must be continuously discarded in favor of new stop-gaps which support the mathematical models; which keep them (the models) alive.

Hegel and Marx were heirs to the thinking of Newton, Descartes, Locke and Smith. Hegel finished the process of secularizing theology — and that is put in his own terms; he secularized the religious thinking through which Europe understood the universe. Then Marx put Hegel's philosophy into terms of "materialism". That is to say that Marx despiritualized Hegel's work altogether. Again, this is in Marx's own terms. And this is now seen as the future revolutionary potential of Europe. Europeans may see this as revolutionary, but American Indians see it simply as still more of that same old European conflict between being and gaining. The intellectual roots for a new Marxist form of European imperialism lies in Marx's — and his followers' — links to the tradition of Newton, Hegel, etc.

Being is a spiritual proposition. Gaining is a material act. Traditionally, American Indians have always attempted to be the best people they could. Part of that spiritual process was and is to give away wealth, to discard wealth in order *not to gain*. Material gain is an indicator of false status among traditional people, while it is "proof that the system works" to Europeans. Clearly, there are two completely opposing views at issue here, and Marxism is very far over to the other side from the American Indian view. But let's look at a major implication of this; it is not merely an intellectual debate.

The European materialist tradition of despiritualizing the universe is very similar to the mental process which goes into dehumanizing another person. And who seems most expert at dehumanizing other people? And why? Soldiers who have seen a lot of combat learn to do this to the enemy before going back into combat. Murderers do it before going out to commit murder. SS guards did it to concentration camp inmates. Cops do it. Corporation leaders do it to workers they send into uranium mines and to work in steel mills. Politicians do it to everyone in sight. What each process of dehumanization has in common for each group doing the dehumanizing is that it makes it alright to kill and otherwise destroy other people. One of the Christian commandments says "thou shall not kill," at least not humans, so the trick is to mentally convert the victims into non-humans. Then you can proclaim violation of your own commandment as a virtue.

In terms of the despiritualization of the universe, the mental process works so that it becomes virtuous to destroy the planet. Terms like "progress" and "development" are used as cover words here the way "victory" and "freedom" are used to justify butchery in the dehumanization process. For example, a real-estate speculator may refer to "developing" a parcel of ground by opening a gravel quarry there; "development" really means total permanent destruction with the earth itself removed. But, European logic has *gained* a few tons of gravel with which more land can be "developed" in construction of road beds. Ultimately, the whole universe is open — in the European view — to this sort of insanity.

Most important here is the fact that Europeans feel no sense of loss in all this. After all, their philosophers have despiritualized reality, so there is no satisfaction (for them) to be gained in simply observing the wonder of a mountain or a lake or a people *in being*. No. Satisfaction is measured in terms of gaining material — so the mountain becomes gravel and the lake becomes coolant for a factory and the people are rounded up for processing through the indoctrination mills Europeans like to call schools. This is all very "rational" and to the good, so no sense of loss is experienced. And it's very difficult, or impossible, to convince a person there's something wrong with the process of gaining when they lack the spiritual wisdom to feel a loss for what is being destroyed along the way.

Each new European abstraction is born of a direct need. Each time an abstraction begins to wear out, each time the costs involved become obvious — even obvious to some Europeans — a new abstraction is created which staves off the inevitable. For a while. Newton, Locke, Descartes, and Smith led to Hegel and Marx and to Darwin. Then there's Einstein and Niels Bohr, etc. Each one abstracted reality even further and contributed to continuing the system of science/materialism when the old "answers" were wearing out. But each new abstraction, each stop-gap, upped the ante out in the real world. Take fuel for the industrial machine as an example. Little more than two centuries ago, nearly everyone used wood — a replenishable, natural item — as fuel for the very human needs of cooking and staying warm. Along came the industrial revolution and coal became the dominant fuel as production became the social imperative for Europe. Pollution began to become a problem in the cities and the earth was ripped open to provide coal where wood was always simply gathered or harvested at no great expense to the environment. Later, oil became the major fuel as the technology of production was perfected through a series of scientific "revolutions". Pollution increased dramatically and nobody yet knows what the environmental costs of pumping all that oil out of the ground will really be in the long run. Now there's an "energy crisis" and uranium is becoming the dominant fuel — still in the name of the same system of materialist values which set up the crisis, both of energy and of the environment.

Capitalists, at least, can be relied upon only to develop uranium as fuel at the rate at which they can show a good profit. That's their ethic, and maybe that will buy some time. Marxists, on the other hand, can be relied upon to develop uranium fuel as rapidly as possibly simply because it's the most "efficient" production fuel available. That's their ethic, and I fail to see where it's preferable. Like I said, Marxism is right smack in the middle of the European tradition. It's the same old song.

## II

The missionaries spearheaded Europe's drive to destroy the continents of this hemisphere; not just the people who are indigenous here, but the continents themselves. The missionaries are still here and they're still active, and traditional people recognize them as the enemy. But they've mainly been replaced in importance by capitalists whose mission it is to "efficiently" exploit what the missionaries opened up. This change from church to capitalism has no doubt made some superficial differences in the structure of European society — they've even gone to great lengths to "separate church and state" in their laws (to reduce the power of the church) — but, the point is, this "revolution" only made things worse for non-Europeans. Capitalism is more destructive and efficient than the missionary version of Europe we encountered a few hundred years ago.

There's a rule of thumb which can be applied here. You can't judge the real nature of a European revolutionary doctrine on the basis of the changes it

proposes to make within the European power structure and society. You can only judge it by the effects it will have on non-European peoples. This is because every revolution in Europe's history has served to reinforce Europe's tendencies and abilities to export destruction to other peoples, other cultures and the environment itself. I defy anyone to point out an example where this isn't true.

So now we, as American Indian people, are asked to believe that a "new" European revolutionary doctrine such as Marxism will reverse the negative effects of European history on us. European power relations are to be adjusted once again, and that's supposed to make things better for all of us. But what does this really mean?

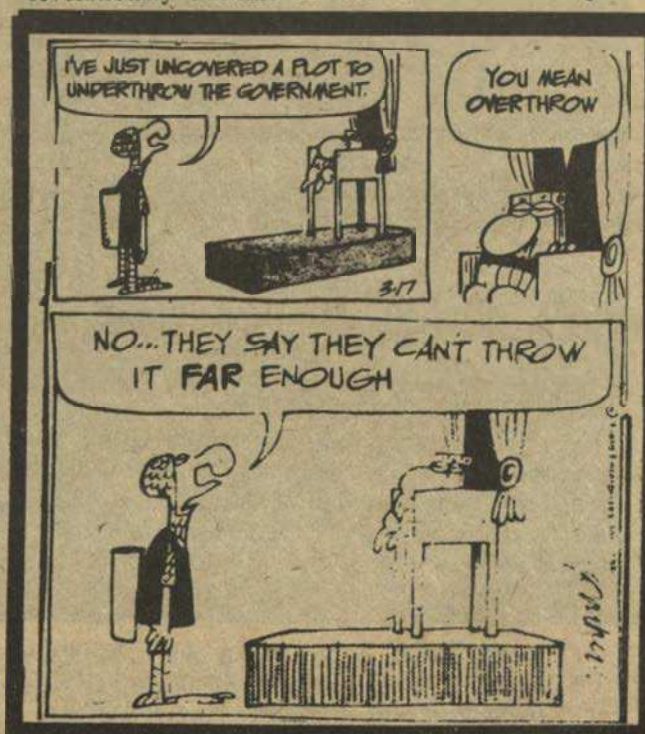
Right now, today, we who live on the Pine Ridge Reservation are living in what white society has designated a "national sacrifice area." What this means is that we have a lot of uranium deposits here and white culture (not us) needs this uranium as energy production material. The cheapest, most efficient way for industry to extract and deal with the processing of the uranium is to dump the waste byproducts right here at the digging sites. Right here where we live. This waste is radioactive and will make the entire region uninhabitable forever. This is considered by industry, and the white society which created this industry, to be an "acceptable" price to pay for energy resource development. Along the way they also plan to drain the water-table under this part of South Dakota as part of the industrial process, so the region becomes doubly uninhabitable. The same sort of thing is happening down in the land of the Navajo and Hopi, up in the land of the Northern Cheyenne and Crow, and elsewhere. Over 60 percent of all U.S. energy resources have been found to lie under reservation land, so there's no way this can be called a minor issue. For American Indians, it's a question of survival in the purest sense of the term. For white society and its industry it's a question of being able to continue to exist in their present form.

We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice area. We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice people! The costs of this industrial process are not acceptable to us. It is murder to dig the uranium here and to drain the water-table, no more, no less. So the reasons for our resistance are obvious enough and shouldn't have to be explained further. To anyone.

Now let's suppose that in our resistance to extermination we begin to seek allies. Let's suppose further that we were to take revolutionary Marxism at its word: that it intends nothing less than the complete overthrow of the European capitalist order which has presented this threat to our very existence. This would seem to be a natural alliance for American Indian people to make. After all, as the Marxists say, it is the capitalists who set us up to be a national sacrifice. This is true as far as it goes.

But, as I've tried to point out, this "truth" is very deceptive. Look beneath the surface of revolutionary Marxism and what do you find? A commitment to reversing the industrial system which created the need of white society for uranium? No. A commitment to guaranteeing the Lakota and other American Indian peoples real control over the land and resources they have left? No, not unless the industrial process is to be reversed as part of their doctrine. A commitment to our rights, as peoples, to maintaining our values and traditions? No, not as long as they need the uranium within our land to feed the industrial system of the society, the culture of which the Marxists are still a part.

Revolutionary Marxism is committed to even further perpetuation and perfection of the very industrial process which is destroying us all. It is offering only to "redistribute" the results, the money maybe, of this industrialization to a wider section of the population. It offers to take wealth from the capitalist and pass it around, but in order to do so, Marxism must maintain the industrial system. Once again, the power relations within European society will have to be altered, but once again the effects upon American Indian peoples here and non-European peoples elsewhere will remain the same. This is much the same as when power was redistributed from the church to private business during the so-called "bourgeois revolution". European society changed a bit, at least superficially, but its conduct toward non-Europeans continued as before. You can





see what the American Revolution of 1776 did for American Indians. It's the same old song.

Revolutionary Marxism and all Industrial Society seeks to "rationalize" all people in relation to industry — maximum industry, maximum production. It is a materialist doctrine which despises the American Indian spiritual tradition, our cultures, our lifeways. Marx himself called us "precapitalists" and "primitive." Precapitalist simply means that, in his view, we should eventually discover capitalism and become capitalists; we have always been economically retarded in Marxist terms. The only manner in which American Indian people could participate in a Marxist revolution would be to join the industrial system, to become factory workers or "proletarians" as Marx called them. The man was very clear about the fact that his revolution could occur only through the struggle of the proletariat, that the existence of a massive industrial system is a precondition of a successful Marxist society.

I think there's a problem with language here. Christians, capitalists, Marxists, all of them have been revolutionary in their own minds. But none of them really mean revolution. What they really mean is a continuation. They do what they do in order that European culture can continue to exist and develop according to its needs. Like germs, European culture goes through occasional convulsions, even divisions within itself, in order to go on living and growing. This isn't a revolution we're talking about, but a means to continuing what already exists. An amoeba is still an amoeba after it reproduces. But maybe comparing European culture to an amoeba isn't really fair to the amoeba. Maybe cancer cells are a more accurate comparison because European culture has historically destroyed everything around it, and it will eventually destroy itself.

So, in order for us to really join forces with Marxism, we Indians would have to accept the national sacrifice of our homeland, we'd have to commit cultural suicide and become industrialized, Europeanized, maybe sanforized. We would have to totally defeat ourselves. Only the insane could consider this to be desirable to us.

At this point, I've got to stop and ask myself whether I'm being too harsh. Marxism has something of a history. Does this history bear out my observations? I look to the process of industrialization in the Soviet Union since 1920 and I see that these Marxists have done what it took the English "industrial revolution" three hundred years to do; and the Marxists did it in sixty years. I see that the territory of the USSR used to contain a number of tribal peoples and that they have been crushed to make way for the factories. The Soviets refer to this as "The National Question," the question of whether the tribal peoples had the right to exist as peoples; and they decided the tribal peoples were an acceptable sacrifice to industrial needs. I look to China and I see the same thing. I look to Vietnam and I see Marxists imposing an industrial order and rooting out the indigenous tribal mountain peoples.

I hear a leading Soviet scientist saying that when uranium is exhausted, then alternatives will be found. I see the Vietnamese taking over a nuclear power plant abandoned by the U.S. military. Have they dismantled and destroyed it? No. They are using it. I see China explode nuclear bombs, developing uranium reactors,

preparing a space program in order to colonize and exploit the planets the same as the Europeans colonized and exploited this hemisphere. It's the same old song, but maybe with a faster tempo this time.

The statement of the Soviet scientist is very interesting. Does he know what this alternative energy source will be? No, he simply has faith. Science will find a way. I hear revolutionary Marxists saying that the destruction of the environment, pollution, radiation, all these things will be controlled. And I see them act upon their words. Do they know how these things will be controlled? No. They simply have faith. Science will find a way. Industrialization is fine and necessary. How do they know this? Faith. Science will find a way. Faith of this sort has always been known in Europe as religion. Science has become the new European religion for both capitalists and Marxists; they are truly inseparable; they are part and parcel of the same culture. So, in both theory and in practice, Marxism demands that non-European peoples give up their values, their traditions, their cultural existence altogether. We will all be industrialized science addicts in a Marxist society.

### III

I do not believe that capitalism itself is really responsible for the situation in which we have been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition. European culture itself is responsible. Marxism is just the latest continuation of this tradition, not a solution to it. To ally with Marxism is to ally with the very same forces which declare us an acceptable "cost."

There is another way. There is the traditional Lakota way and the ways of the other American Indian peoples. It is the way that knows that humans do not have the right to degrade Mother Earth, that there are forces beyond anything the European mind has conceived, that

humans must be in harmony with all relations or the relations will eventually eliminate the disharmony. A lopsided emphasis on humans by humans, the European arrogance of acting as though they were beyond the nature of all related things, can only result in a total disharmony and a readjustment which cuts arrogant humans down to size, gives them a taste of that reality beyond their grasp or control and restores the harmony. There is no need for a revolutionary theory to bring this about, it's beyond human control. The natural peoples of this planet know this and so they do not theorize about it. Theory is an abstract, our knowledge is real.

All European tradition, Marxism included, has conspired to defy the natural order of all things. Mother Earth has been abused, the powers have been abused, and this cannot go on forever. No theory can alter that simple fact. Mother Earth will retaliate, the whole environment will retaliate, and the abusers will be eliminated. Things come full circle. Back to where it started. That's revolution. And that's a prophecy of my people, of the Hopi people, and other correct peoples.

American Indians have been trying to explain this to Europeans for centuries. But, as I said earlier, they have proven themselves unable to hear. The natural order will win out and the offenders will die back, the way deer die when they offend the harmony by overpopulating a given region. It's only a matter of time until what

Europeans call a "major catastrophe of global proportions" will occur. It is the role of American Indian peoples, the role of all natural beings to survive. A part of our survival is to resist. We resist, not to overthrow government or to take political power, but because it is natural to resist extermination, to survive. We don't want power over white institutions; we want white institutions to disappear. That's revolution.

American Indians are still in touch with these realities, the prophecies, the traditions of our ancestors. We learn from the elders, from nature, from the powers. And when the catastrophe is over, we indigenous peoples will still be here to inhabit the hemisphere. I don't care if it's only a handful of red people living high in the Andes, indigenous people will survive and harmony will be reestablished. That's revolution.

This leads me back to those American Indians who are drifting through the universities, the city slums and other European institutions. If you are there to learn to resist the oppressor in accordance with your traditional ways, so be it. I don't know how you manage to combine the two, but perhaps you will succeed. But retain your sense of reality. Beware of coming to believe the white world offers solutions to the problems in confronts us with. Beware too of allowing the words of Native peoples to be twisted to the advantage of our enemies. Europe invented the practice of turning words around on themselves. You need only look to the treaties between the people and various European governments to know that this is true. Draw your strength from who you are.

The twisting of words goes on today; it has never stopped. This is why when I spoke in Geneva, Switzerland about the colonization of indigenous peoples in this hemisphere, I was misrepresented as a "leftist" by some white radicals. This is why red necks are believed by a few empty heads when they label American Indian activists as being "Marxist-Leninists." This is why certain groups in the white "left" actually believe they share our values while rejecting the same values at every practical turn. A culture which regularly confuses revolution with continuation, which confuses science and religion, which confuses revolt and resistance has nothing helpful to teach you, has nothing to offer you as a way of life. Europeans have long since lost all touch with reality, if ever they were in touch with it. Feel sorry for them if you need to, but be comfortable with who you are as American Indians.



So, I suppose I should state clearly that leading anyone toward Marxism is the last thing on my mind. Marxism is as alien to my culture as capitalism and Christianity. In fact, I can say I don't think I'm trying to lead anyone toward anything. To some extent I tried to be a "leader" in the sense that the white media likes to use that term when the American Indian Movement was a young organization. This was a result of a confusion I no longer have. You cannot be everything to everyone. I do not propose to be used in such fashion by my enemies; I am not a "leader." I am an Oglala Lakota patriot. That's all I want or need to be. And I am very comfortable with who I am....

## C.E.R.T. -- An Outsider's View

by Winona LaDuke

### INTRODUCTION

We are entering an era of energy crisis in the United States. In a nation which has 8% of the world's population yet consumes 40% of all natural resources, consumption, once threatened, becomes a crisis. The United States is becoming increasingly dependent upon foreign sources of raw materials — a habit which is not easily broken.

A resource crisis assumes that there is an immediate scarcity of resources. The wells will eventually run out and the mines will some time soon run dry — the resources are undeniably finite. Resources will run out

most quickly if consumption increases or is maintained at the present level. If the future of the United States is to be based on energy and capital intensive development and industrialization, the final "resource crunch" will arrive fairly soon.

There is no industry controlled by fewer firms than the energy industry. Oil companies control not only the oil industry, but also control the uranium and coal industry. Oil companies control over 74% of the uranium industry, and control almost one-half of the market in the coal industry. Mergers and acquisitions in recent years have accelerated this trend. While U.S. citizens were watching the meters go wild on the gasoline pumps, EXXON, CONOCO and Kerr McGee had "earnings" like never before. People were led to believe that the Arabs had created a shortage, while the

oil company profits reached record levels.

Nationalization of mining and oil industries in the Third World have taken a serious psychological and political toll on the oil companies in recent years. The companies have found themselves evicted from "stable" countries, and with fewer sources of production, their own stability was on the decrease. As the political fortunes of the giants faltered, the companies were forced to move back to North America — the "safest" place yet.

North America contains vast deposits of coal and uranium. While these resources appear to be the key to Energy Independence for the United States, huge quantities of these resources are destined to be exported. Multinational corporations such as Westinghouse, Bechtel, and General Electric plan to use these resources



as the energy backbone of such countries as South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. These nations are the "export market" for the United States based corporations. Pacific Islands, Brazil, Argentina, and a host of other countries are designated as "economic miracles." In reality, U.S. multinationals have created a demand for electricity in these nations through the establishment of industrial sites within their borders. The energy industry of the U.S. supplies this newly created demand for electricity with U.S. made nuclear reactors, or American engineered coal fired power plants. For those countries in the "developing world" which do not have domestic energy resources, the U.S. firms are prepared to provide fuels made from raw materials found in North America.

Of the 229 operating nuclear power plants in the world, 71 are in the United States. Nuclear power, however, largely as a result of citizens' opposition, is not expected to play a major role in the future of American Energy Independence. The uranium boom, nevertheless, continues, with more exploration, mining and milling taking place today within the United States than ever before. The domestic market for uranium destined for nuclear power plants is thus contracting. This makes the uranium export market all that much more important to the nuclear industry.

The United States leads the world in uranium exports. In 1974, U.S. exports made up almost one-half of the world supply. This dominance has been downscaled in recent years with new mines opening in the uranium rich countries. Many mining areas and specific mining sites in the United States have been in production for decades and are reaching the end of their productive years. The Anaconda mine at Laguna Pueblo (in New Mexico) is one example. After three decades of uranium production (beginning in 1952), the Anaconda mine is expected to be exhausted by 1982. Each day 5,500 tons of raw uranium ore was produced at this mine. Many other mining operations are to be found in similar situations. It is to be expected that although future U.S. production will not increase substantially, new mining projects will have to be opened if the current level of uranium production is to be maintained.

Indian reservations and the areas bordering the reservations (allotted and Bureau of Land Management lands in many cases) will play an important role in the future of the uranium industry. Exact estimates of resources of "Indian land" vary greatly, according to who is asked. Between a low estimate of 11% of the U.S. uranium reserves and a high estimate of 66% of U.S. uranium, the figures are cloudy. It is likely that only the companies know for sure. Coal estimates are a similar problem, but one-third of all western coal (or one-sixth of total U.S. reserves) appears to be a constant estimate.

The most important consideration around the subject of energy development involves not so much where the resources are located, but which deposits enter the production stage. In this respect, Indian nations play a primary role. In 1974, 100% of all federally controlled uranium production took place on Indian reservations. Within the borders of Canada, uranium production has a

strikingly similar appearance. Indian nations in the north of Saskatchewan and elsewhere in "sparsely populated areas" are an important source of Canadian uranium. Rich Nafziger, in a 1976 report to Americans for Indian Opportunity, discovered that if Indian nations were looked at as one nation, we would be the 5th largest producers of uranium in the world. These figures do not incorporate the production of the lands of Native people in Canada. Combined, the Native people of the U.S. and Canada, viewed as one country, would be the 3rd or 4th largest producers of uranium in the so-called "free world." Coal figures denote a similar pattern. According to the Council on Economic Priorities, Indian coal reserves are the site of four out of the top ten largest coal mines in the United States.

It seems likely that energy production will continue to be centered on Native lands. Uranium production in both South Africa and Namibia is unstable, the result of Black liberation forces. Australian uranium deposits are anticipated to be in production by the end of 1980, but citizens' opposition to uranium mining has already delayed the projects for many years. Inside North America, Vermont recently banned uranium mining and initiatives are on the ballots this November in South Dakota and other states. British Columbia was expected by industry to be an important source of uranium for Canadian reactors and for the export market, but the industry will have to wait at least 7 years. In February of 1980, a public inquiry into uranium exploration, mining and milling was cancelled by British Columbia Premier Bill Bennett. Bennett cited health and environmental reasons, combined with the political ramifications of uranium exports to the South Korean based Korean Electric Company as the primary motivations behind his decision. Each of these events contributes to the uncertainty in the uranium market, as well as the pressure on Indian nations to proceed with development of uranium resources. These factors also make the actions of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) more important than ever.

The Indian nations are in a similar situation in the area of coal production. President Carter's two-pronged approach to coal and synthetic fuels — the Energy Mobilization Board and the synthetic fuels bill — have not been entirely successful. If the Energy Mobilization Board (EMB) had been passed, the federal government would have been able to supersede any state or local jurisdiction or regulation on "priority projects" designated by the EMB. In June of 1980 the bill failed (only after the House of Representatives had passed the legislation.) The Synthetic Fuels bill, however, did pass. This bill authorized federal loan guarantees for synthetic fuels facilities. Passage of that bill was a big step toward the realization of 20 or so predicted synthetic fuels facilities in the west.

Several tribal councils applied for funding through the Synthetic Fuels bill. This fact, the presumed "willingness of tribes" to consider a 'synfuels' plant will be a contributing factor to increased development of reservation coal reserves. The failure of the Energy Mobilization Board will also facilitate development of

Indian coal reserves. Since states and counties cannot be forced to house a facility, Indian tribes may be expected to do so.

While these pressures contribute to the general atmosphere of hysteria in the west, particularly on the reservations, they also put tribal decision makers in a position of increased power and responsibility. Not only are these decisions made for Indian people today, but for this generation and the generations to come. The future of the uranium market, domestically and internationally, are both at stake, as is the final test of synthetic fuels production. Energy companies are powerful, but lessons have been learned. With but 4% of the original land base remaining, Native nations are facing the greatest challenge in a long history of challenges.

#### CERT — Changing Roles in Changing Times

**"The Council of Energy Resource Tribes is a non-profit organization representing 25 American Indian Tribes owning a large share of the West's energy resources. The tribes formed CERT in 1975..." — from the CERT Catalog, 1978.**

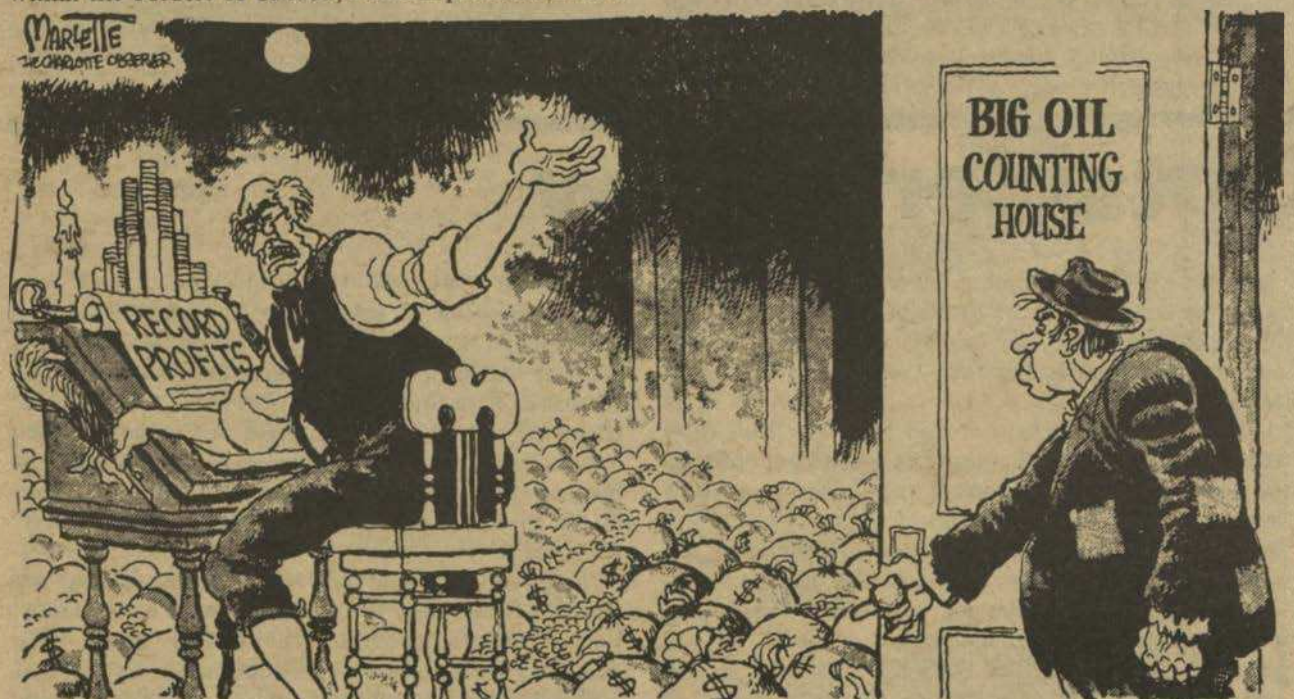
This is a myth. CERT is made up of the Tribal Chairmen of 25 western Indian reservations, supported by an organizational structure of economic and technical advisors from the United States and other countries. An important error, CERT does not represent the Indian people from these 25 reservations. It is an organization of *tribal chairmen* who are acting independently of any democratic control or accountability to the reservation people. The CERT staff consults only with the tribal chairmen, and is legally bound to act this way by the charter of the organization.

Most of the "CERT reservations" have been the site of active energy development over the past fifty years, primarily oil exploitation. With the exceptions of the Navajo and Spokane reservations, and Laguna Pueblo — all of which are the source of significant uranium production — oil has been the primary resource produced from these reservations. CERT tribes, like other reservations, share a bond of bad leases negotiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which lock the tribes into long-term agreements which offer minimal returns.

John Foster, Director of the Native American Natural Resource Development Federation (NANDRF) has stated that "the idea (for an organization) originated at a 1973 meeting held at the Fort Berthold reservation. Over 100 Indian leaders came together to discuss water rights, and realized, in the wake of the Arab Oil Embargo, there was much more at stake..." From this meeting of tribal officials, Indian organization leaders and a few Bureau representatives came the push for a coherent plan for reservation development. NANDRF was formed, and works with 24 tribes on all aspects of development (including timber, agriculture, etc...) but within a year, CERT was destined to be the Indian development organization.

CERT deals specifically in energy resources, which is exactly what the federal government was looking for in an Indian organization. CERT quickly surpassed even the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and the troubled National Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA) in prestige and recognition. The charismatic leaders of CERT brought increasing attention to the organization, as well as substantial funding. LaDonna Harris, President and Executive Officer of Americans for Indian Opportunity was executive officer of the "Mother of CERT". According to the 1978 Annual Report of AIO, LaDonna's organization has served in an "advisory capacity" to CERT since the Indian energy organization came about. John Foster of NANDRF commented, "with the tremendous energy and great political contacts of LaDonna Harris and Peter MacDonald (Navajo Tribal Chairman), CERT took over the entire ball game of Indian development organizations..."

Peter MacDonald, Laguna Pueblo Governor Floyd Correa, and LaDonna Harris were the most noticeable spokespeople for CERT. One of the initial tactics of the



"OF COURSE WE'RE MAKING SACRIFICES—WHY, I'LL HAVE YOU KNOW THIS ROOM IS PRECISELY 68 DEGREES!"



CERT leaders was to create an image of the "Indian OPEC." Rumors of meetings with OPEC officials and Arab leaders (never substantiated) were circulated throughout the United States. The new force in Indian country raised eyebrows in Washington, and \$2.9 million in federal funding dropped out of the sky into the CERT treasury.

#### Phase Two

Keeping up with U.S. energy policy and the weekly proposals from energy corporations for the reservations is a large job. The CERT staff of 60 is now headed by Executive Director Ed Gabriel, formerly of the Federal Energy Administration's Office of Impact Assessment. Other staff members include Ahmed Kooros, former Deputy Minister of Oil Affairs under the Shah of Iran. The "OPEC" image began and ended with Kooros. The remainder of the staff are predominantly bright young Americans, with 12 Indian staff members. The responsibility of the CERT staff is to advise tribal chairmen on energy issues and options for the reservations.

After receiving enough money from the federal government to meet office and staff expenses, CERT leaders asked for a larger slice of the pie. Peter MacDonald, CERT Chairman, requested one-half of one percent of what the President was allocating to his "Energy Security Budget". MacDonald's request amounts to \$60 million annually for the next ten years for the CERT treasury.

Washington did allocate some money for CERT, although not as much as MacDonald requested. The announcement of this funding was formally made at the CERT annual meeting held in December 1979 in Phoenix. John F. O'Leary, former Deputy Secretary of Energy, announced that CERT would receive \$24 million in federal assistance from a variety of federal departments. MacDonald quipped that "Santa Claus" had "come early," and the CERT board meeting continued.

The meeting itself was a colorful affair. Admission cost \$250 for corporations and \$100 for wealthy individuals. Somehow a few poor people got into the prestigious Adams Hotel in Phoenix, rounding off attendance at somewhere around 400 people.

Addressing the assembly was Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of ARCO, David S. Freeman, Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, John F. O'Leary, from the Department of Energy, and others with great interests in reservation resources. (ARCO operates the uranium strip mine at Laguna Pueblo and has interests on the Papago and Cheyenne reservations. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) is in the process of mine construction on the Navajo reservation.) O'Leary was given a special CERT Award of Appreciation for his work in channeling federal funding to the organization. CERT appeared to be interested in convincing the energy generals that "although the price will go up, we are still interested in talking..."

During the course of the meeting, Peter MacDonald announced that six energy projects would be underway soon on CERT-represented reservations. Several months later, Ted Smith, Director of Economics and Finance for CERT, assured me that the organization was "not in the business of selling Indian resources". The nature of the board meeting, however, and the circumstances which resulted make CERT appear to be a very good mechanism for developing Indian coal and uranium. For example, a "reception sponsored by five corporations including Consolidation Coal (CONOCO), General Electric and Gulf Oil was the setting for quite a few business talks. The "reception" consisted of a very well stocked bar.

The strategy of CERT seems to be the creation of an organization which maintains a monopoly on information relative to energy development prospects on the Indian reservations. That information is made available exclusively, or nearly exclusively, to tribal chairmen. Thus, a federally funded organization has been created which serves tribal chairmen to the exclusion of the tribal councils and the Indian people. To the extent that information is a source of power, that power is placed almost exclusively in the hands of the tribal chairmen and the administration of CERT. The behind-the-scenes workings of this kind of organization can be glimpsed in an account by Geoffry



#### ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

#### AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

via Roosevelttown, New York 13683

(518)358-9531

O'Gara reported in *High Country News*:

"Leonard Burch, Chairman of the Southern Ute reservation in Colorado, sat quietly at the conference table. A tall man in a gray suit, an oil company executive, leaned towards him... 'If a few of us could get together with you,' he was saying, 'we're down here, we're interested in what's happening here, and if you have the time...' Burch quietly agreed to a later meeting."

Although no traditional Indian people were allowed to speak from the platform at the CERT meeting, a delegation of Native people from the Dine (Navajo) reservation issued a press release in response to the CERT meeting:

"We maintain that CERT is claiming to represent individuals of diverse intertribal groups that in fact they do not represent.... We have come here in an observer capacity and can testify as individuals who live in, and whose livelihood is being effected in, the land areas in contention. Through our observations here at the CERT meeting, we have witnessed that no testimony has been allowed to reflect the voice of the indigenous people who will be effected by the decisions made here... We urge that the indigenous members of CERT realize their traditional and spiritual ways of survival and their responsibility to the earth and to their people to help assure their survival..."

The message from the reservation was clear. Whether the CERT representatives heard it is another question.

PHASE THREE— CERT — the "Department of Energy with a tiny drop of Redskin?"

The Department of Energy money, and that of other agencies funding CERT is not designed for a priority on the development of "renewable" or "alternative" energy

resources. An estimated \$300,000 of the \$24 million is destined for feasibility studies and educational expenses in alternative sources of energy. Like the Department of Energy, CERT representatives have a substantial interest in synthetic fuels facilities — coal gasification, coal liquification, oil shale and the like. Several "feasibility" studies are under way on CERT reservations for these projects, and CERT Chairman MacDonald announced the possibility of the "first operating synfuels facility" — the "CERT contribution" to the National Energy Policy.

The CERT leaders from southern reservations have thus far played a key role in CERT. Peter MacDonald and LaDonna Harris have successfully lobbied for federal funding, and Floyd Correa, former Governor of Laguna Pueblo and CERT Vice Chairman, now holds a high position inside the Department of Energy. These individuals, combined with some strong northern allies from CERT reservations and contacts in Washington, have set much of the state for CERT.

The southern and northern reservations have some major differences, perspectives which may alter the future of the organization in the years to come. It is crucial to learn from both the successes and failures of the southern reservations. Navajo and Laguna Pueblo are paving the way for "economic development based on energy development" — a lead which is enticing for northern reservations to follow. At the same time, noticeable opposition to development in the north is sprouting on several reservation.

The Nez Perce Tribal Council rejected a proposal for a small-scale, hydro-electric project — a renewable source of energy — after several feasibility studies completed by the CERT staff revealed that the tribe's fishing area would be jeopardized. The Yakima Tribal Council is taking an aggressive stand on nuclear waste disposal. The Hanford Nuclear Reservation, where some two-thirds of U.S. nuclear wastes are currently stored, is located 20 miles from the Yakima reservation, well within their 1855 guaranteed treaty lands. In a statement to members of the Senate Subcommittee on the Environment, Councilman Russell Jim delivered a strong speech:

"The Yakima Indian nation is deeply disturbed with the future plans for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation as presently put forward by the representatives of Rockwell International... We feel strongly that steps of vital importance to the very existence of our people are being taken, and are about to be taken without proper regard... for the safety of all peoples within the area, and for the federal obligations contained in the treaty with the Yakima Indian people... the Yakima Indian nation is an important part of the fifty (50) mile circle around the Hanford reservation within which the law requires that workable plans for evacuation be developed. The Yakima Indian nation sees this concept of evacuation as a cynical and empty phrase when applied to our Indian reservation. ...By placing hazardous radioactive wastes near our reservation, they may well undermine our Treaty rights by threatening a destruction which the implications of the Treaty show to be illegal. Our lands may be contaminated irretrievably by action on nearby non-Indian Land or from faulty transportation of radioactive wastes. I believe any of you gentlemen will realize that for Native Americans, 'Evacuation' from their lands is meaningless."

Whether Tribal Chairmen involved in CERT will follow the lead established by Navajo and Laguna in the South and Spokane, Colville and Crow in the North, only time will tell. The outlook of Acoma Pueblo, Nez Perce and Yakima provide a stark contrast, both of which should be carefully evaluated for future times.

HOW THE WEST IS WON — Conquistadors in Pinstriped Suits on the Western Frontier

Supplying America's "energy needs" involves more than patriotism. Western energy development is an adventure of high risks and great profits. Each "project" involves millions to billions of dollars and the corporations are interested in being repaid many times over. In order to better "secure" this new area of development, the Western Regional Council (WRC) is busy making powerful friends in the west and forming a strong lobbying body.

The WRC was formed in 1977 in response to the fight over coal development in the Kaipowats plateau. It is a coalition of corporate and governmental entities which



came together in the interests of self-preservation. Currently comprised of the executive officers from over 50 mining, banking and energy interests active in the West, the Western Regional Council is headquartered in Salt Lake City. In the meantime, corporate headquarters are altering the skyline of Denver, newly dubbed the "Energy Capital of the World."

The Western Regional Council is looking for a "new western identity." While its counterparts, the California Business Roundtable and the National Business Roundtable, are busy on the east and west coasts, the target of WRC attentions are the governors of inter-mountain states and the Indian tribes. At stake are 445 energy projects in the west, 164 of which will be on the reservations.

The priorities of the Western Regional Council, according to journalists Gottlieb and Wiley, include:

† The implementation/application of the Clean Air Act to insure all is favorable to energy development.

† To institute new leasing regulations for publicly owned coal.

† To influence the implementation of Carter's energy proposals — especially the synfuels program and the Energy Security Corporation.

† To influence a federal water policy and to participate in a legal suit against the Sierra Club concerning water values in Southern Utah and Northern Arizona.

State governors in the west, like tribal chairmen, have moved closer toward regional interdependence and further from Washington. The corporate officials in the Western Regional Council have been careful to work within the regional framework when dealing with the western policy makers. The coalition of western governors, formally called WESTPO (Western Governor's Policy Office) and CERT are considered the most likely negotiators by the WRC.

#### PROJECT NUMBER ONE — Working With the Governors

Some western governors are heavily involved with the WRC. Calvin Rampton, former Governor of Utah, virtually created the Utah Chapter of the WRC in the first battle at Kaipowats. Governor Lamm of Colorado in turn asked Bruce Rockwell, Chairman of Colorado National Bank (among other positions) to form a corporate counterpart to WESTPO.

For publicity-shy governors and policy makers, the Western Interstate Energy Board (WIEB), located in Denver, is an easy way to work with the WRC under the counter. The Western Interstate Energy Board is situated in the same office complex as the WESTPO office — 3333 Stapleton Plaza in Denver. The WIEB (also calling itself the Western Interstate Nuclear Board) is a sort of "energy think tank" which relies on companies and utilities for its data, then turns the data over to WESTPO for consideration.

One of the first projects of the WIEB was a feasibility study on "Nuclear Energy Centers" in the west. Under contract from Oakridge National Laboratories, the study was completed in 1977. The nuclear energy centers or "nuclear parks" are comprised of 25 to 40 reactors located in "low population zones." The WIEB proceeded to query western governors and utility companies to determine where these facilities might be considered acceptable. Seven sites were found to be "suitable" for these facilities. Each site, without exception, is located on or adjacent to an Indian reservation.

The WIEB completed the study and turned it over to the western governors, some of whom rejected the idea ("until nuclear power becomes more politically acceptable"), and a few governors accepted the potential of the proposals. While the Hanford Nuclear reservation in Washington state is the only "almost sure" site for a nuclear park, the fact that such a proposal — one for 25 — 40 nuclear reactors in "low population zones" — originated at all is a cause for alarm. "Nuclear energy centers" are ideally designed to alleviate pressures from the anti-nuclear movement in population centers. The centers also pose the same environmental and health problems as do the smaller nuclear reactors, with the arid nature of the western intermountain region magnifying the problem. An official from the Arizona Atomic Energy Commission, when queried for the WIEB report, commented that the only major impediment to

the development of a nuclear facility would be water rights, especially since the Navajo Tribe, and the Apache, Pina and Papago nations legally control most of the water in the arid region. If such a facility were constructed, the danger of contaminating the only water supply in the region poses a serious problem.

While the seriousness with which nuclear energy parks were taken by western governors demonstrates more about the danger of combining political misjudgment with technical ignorance than the probability that such centers would ever exist, the proposal does demonstrate the hysteria created by the failure of the domestic nuclear reactor market.

Nuclear energy centers are not the only study of the WIEB. Reports of the Board in 1979 were focused on synthetic fuels and coal development. The WIEB 1979 annual report outlines the expectation for an increase in coal capacity in the West from 262.9 million tons (1985) to a possible 668.8 million tons by 1990. Coupled with this are an expected 6 coal slurry lines, 24 "synfuels" plants, and possibly 30 coal and fossil fuel fired power plants. The report summarizes industry expectations for the benefit of governors and policy makers.

Regionalism is becoming a crucial factor in the future of the west. Western governors seem to be of the mind that less is done for them in Washington, D.C., than could be done for them by foreign nations. Colorado Governor Lamm, for instance, is reported to be negotiating with the Japanese for coal sales. Idaho senators and the governor are reportedly interested in selling wheat directly to Libya, and South Dakota Governor Janklow is interested in shipping grain to Asia.

An important denominator in all development scenarios is water, a substance more precious than gold or uranium in the west. With this in mind, the Western Regional Council is busy on another front.

#### PROJECT NUMBER TWO — Co-opting the Indians

The tribes are clearly the wild card in western energy development. If each tribe is pro-development, everything will go as planned. If even a few tribes decide that the goodies offered by the Western Regional Council don't look tasty, every plan for the west could go under.

Water rights is the name of the game, and Indian water can either make or break energy development. With the Winter's Doctrine — the backbone of Indian water law — in mind, the WRC has been treating the Indians with kid gloves. As journalists Gottlieb and Wiley reported in *Straight Creek Journal*, "We have to realize, one energy executive told his WRC cohorts, 'that in order to survive we can't treat these situations as a 100% profit orientation, because we need to develop a reputation ... it's like dealing with a foreign government, they have to feel they have made a good deal...'"

Phoenix was a city full of excitement in early December 1979. Not only did the CERT meeting take place, but the western governors, WESTPO, and the Western Regional Council also held their meetings at the same time. In a new form of honoring ceremony, the former Governor of Laguna Pueblo was invited to speak at the WRC meeting.

At the CERT board meeting, MacDonald announced that Bruce Rockwell, the Colorado leader of the WRC, would head up the newly formed CERT Indian Energy Education Institute. Rockwell's job is enormous. First he must raise the money for the institute, then he must make the Institute work. Between 93,000 and 157,000 energy workers will be needed in the west by 1985 according to Ted Smith of the CERT staff. By 2000, as many as 374,000 workers could be required. CERT has been attempting for several years to develop an Indian professional work force; past efforts, however, have failed miserably. Indian people with the technical skills applicable to the energy industry are hard to find. If CERT advisors and tribal chairmen have the intention of bringing the energy projects to the surface, Indian supervisors are necessary. With the workforce the 164 projects become viable. Without the workers, energy development is an imposition in every way.

Equitable Life Assurance Company of New York is also playing a very influential role in affecting Indian leaders. Although not directly affiliated with the

Western Regional Council, through interlocking interests Equitable has an enormous stake in the west. Equitable has agreed to "help the Crows get the \$900 million in financing needed to build their 800 megawatt coal project." Says an Equitable official, "Energy developments owned by Indian tribes have the potential to become excellent investment opportunities." Equitable should know.

Aside from being part-owner of the Peabody Coal Company (which incidentally holds an 11,000 acre lease on the Crow reservation) Equitable is a major stockholder in virtually every energy corporation in the United States. Equitable's interests rank as high as first in Southern California Edison, on down to the number four stockholder of Continental Oil Company (owner of Consolidation Coal) and in the ARCO-Anaconda company. Equitable Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Coy Ecklund also has a very direct link into Indian country. Ecklund sits on the Board of Directors of Americans for Indian Opportunity, where LaDonna Harris, the "Mother of CERT," originates.

#### JURISDICTION AND WATER

The Energy Mobilization Board was perhaps the single most unifying piece of legislation in recent history. CERT officials and western governors forged a working interest, primarily based on the defeat of the Energy Mobilization Board bill. The Board would have superceded any local jurisdiction with federal law in the case of any "priority" non-nuclear energy projects. At the height of the western battle to defeat the EMB, the two organizations, CERT and WESTPO, issued a joint statement affirming a commitment to work together:

"The time has come for the elected heads of states and tribes to join hands in responding to federal energy programs which apparently assume the consent and cooperation of the west ... we must work together on the solutions..."

Cooperation between the Indian nations and the western states' governors would be a truly historic occurrence. In reality, however, no matter how closely the governors consult with the tribal chairmen, there remain some major points of conflict.

Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt "enjoys a close relationship with Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald." When Babbitt, WESTPO's designated "Indian liaison" was asked about water rights, in reply he mumbled that "he hadn't come to Phoenix to discuss water rights."

South Dakota Governor William Janklow exemplifies the conflict between state and Indian jurisdiction in the west. South Dakota Attorney General Mark Mierhenry recently instigated a legal suit over water rights. According to Rapid City Attorney Bruce Ellison, Mierhenry is suing on behalf of the Attorney General's office and the State of South Dakota, not the people of South Dakota. "The Attorney General is taking legal action against every land owner in South Dakota, Indian and white, with the assumption that the state owns all the water rights within the state. Landowners are expected to prove: 1) that they possess water rights, and 2) that they are exercising their water rights. This does not mean future use, only current use. In effect, Ellison continued, "Governor Janklow and the Attorney General are forcing Indian tribes and all ranchers to quantify water rights."

After questioning Attorney General Mierhenry, Ellison found that the suit's effect would "give the Attorney General control over the water within the state." When Mierhenry was questioned about proposed water projects, including the west river aqueduct and coal and uranium development, the Attorney General commented that this water quantification "would not affect water development proposals."

Governor Janklow, as a member of WESTPO, is setting a precedent dangerous to Indian tribes. If states follow the lead of South Dakota and begin legal suits over water jurisdiction, not only will Indian water rights be forced into question, but any pending allocations by Indian tribes of their water for future use (in irrigation for example) as designated by the Winter's Doctrine will be held in legal suspension until the suit is completed.

Between the "Sagebrush Rebellion" and the moves on Indian water the western governors do not always constitute the best of allies.



suitable for all poor people who have to make do with limited funds and who often live in isolated areas.

An encouraging sign has been the federal government's involvement in taking solar systems to the reservations through the National Center for Appropriate Technology and the Indian Health Service (IHS).

The appropriate technology center in Butte, Montana promotes the use of appropriate technology among rural people in small communities.

Tom Peletier stresses that solar projects provide jobs and a basis for economic development while meeting energy needs.

A recent article on "Energy and Jobs" in *Solar Age* magazine estimated that solar technologies could provide four times more jobs per unit of energy than the high technology of nuclear power.

Salvador Reyes directs the IHS program to install photovoltaic water pumping systems on reservations. The photovoltaic systems use solar cells to convert solar energy into electrical energy. The program is installing 48 community water pumping systems on Indian reservations throughout the country.

Reyes says that P-V systems provide amenities never before realized by many Indian people but they are still very small systems compared with what a normal American household would require.

The priority for the home systems are the elderly and families who don't have any sanitation facilities because of their isolation from water and power lines. These systems have already been installed in Indian homes in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Alaska.

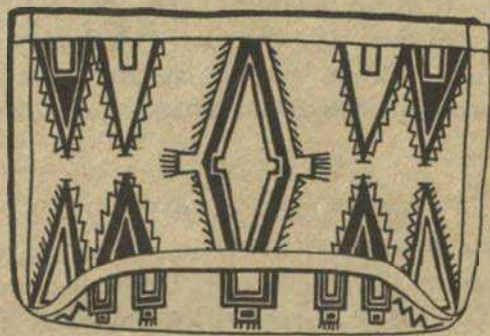
Commenting on the IHS program, the Native American Appropriate Technology Action Council said: "Such solar systems will prove even more useful to remote Indian communities if Indian residents are taught the skills of designing, assembling, and perhaps even manufacturing the elements of solar cell pumping systems rather than receiving them as an imported package unit."

#### A Gradual Transition

Appropriate technology is blossoming on the reservations. In almost every state where there are Indian people, low scale technology is being used as a means of economic development.

There are solar projects in all the western states, including experiments on the smaller reservation like Rocky Boy in Montana and in Franks Landing in Washington.

Several tribes are also now trying wind generation projects. The Zunis are trying to recycle sewage using wind energy.



For some tribes, appropriate technology means returning to traditional occupations. Indian people in Canada and Alaska are re-establishing reindeer herds while others are renewing their fishing industry by breeding shellfish and shrimp.

Indian people are finding that they have to find their own means of development. Economic development plans by corporations that come to the reservations have often resulted not in developing the Indian communities but in undermining them.

Development also, has to be gradual.

Only a few Indians benefit by the high technology development by the white corporations. The rest of the tribe, the grassroots people, are left behind and pushed out of the way by the industrialization and the production of the non-Indian world.

## DECLARATION OF DEPENDANCE ON THE LAND

### 1980 INTERNATIONAL SURVIVAL GATHERING

Forum on Indian Genocide and the Planned Extinction of the Family Farm

### DECLARATION OF DEPENDENCE ON THE LAND

Land is a sacred trust and a precious resource. Together with the water that flows under and through it and the air that flows around it, the land has been created by God, the Great Spirit, and given in sacred trust to all living creatures. The land is one, its water, soil, air, elements within and living creatures are a whole, not meant to be divided and abused. Mother Earth nourishes her children, and they are to treat her with respect. They are to live in harmony with her and with each other.

But the sacred trust has been violated. The harmony has been shattered. The land has been desecrated because it has been treated as a commodity. Mother Earth has been violated by individuals and corporations who abuse her or appropriate her for their own selfish ends.

The abuses of the land are many: desecration of sacred Indian lands, strip mining, grassland plowing, soil and water poisoning and depletion through excessive agricultural, industrial and consumer use, lack of land conservation practices, capital and chemical intensive agriculture, overgrazing of pasture lands, displacement of native plant varieties, irresponsible forestry practices, and dumping of chemical and radioactive wastes. Many of these abuses result from an economic system that oppresses Native Peoples, farmers and ranchers, taking from them ownership or control of their land base.

The forms taken by appropriation of the land include: stealing Native Peoples' land to satisfy the greed of those seeking mineral or agricultural wealth, seizure of rural lands in general through purchase by large corporations, or government exercise of eminent domain on behalf of those corporations, for mining, power plants and lines, urban and suburban development and nuclear missile sites, diversion of water to serve corporate rather than community needs, consolidation of rural and urban lands, and exploitation of Third World nations' lands by U.S. based trans-national corporations to increase their own profits and prop up the failing U.S. economic system. These forms of appropriation are supported by government policies and practices which serve the profit interests of corporation rather than the primary needs of people.

The abuse and appropriation of the land alienate people from their rightful inheritance and true heritage. They also pose both short and long term threats to the survival of Mother Earth and of all living creatures.

We are meeting near the Black Hills of South Dakota in an International Survival Gathering. We come from 23 Indian nations and 36 other nations of the world. We come to express our outrage at the desecration of the land. We realize that those who violate the earth here in North America do so throughout the world in an international conspiracy to satisfy their greed and deprive all peoples of the lands entrusted to them by the Creator.

We call for the restoration of the sacred relationship among all creatures and the earth. We declare our dependence on the land, and urge all peoples to recognize their own dependence on the land for their lives and livelihoods.

We demand an end to the abuse and appropriation of the land. We invite all concerned peoples to struggle with us to achieve that goal.

We call for land justice for Native Peoples: recognition of their sovereignty and traditional forms of government, with the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty as the starting point for the just resolution of differences and the model for honoring all other treaties, federal appropriations of money to compensate residents and property owners for their holdings on treaty lands restored to tribal control, and additional appropriations to compensate tribes for destruction of the environment and of renewable and nonrenewable resources.

We call for all nations to acknowledge that international law holds that all treaties are binding upon

the nations that contract them, and cannot be changed without the consent of all the parties involved.

We call for an end to all genocidal programs which uproot, displace and relocate Native Peoples and other rural peoples.

We call for the promotion of family farms and ranches, especially through owner-operator and residency requirements, and parity programs tied to conservation practices that lead to the eventual elimination of agricultural dependence on chemical pollutants of the land.

We call for the recognition of the right of family farmers and ranchers to exercise stewardship over family-sized holdings in treaty areas restored to Indian control, as long as they respect and care for these lands, through long term, renewable family leases negotiated with tribal governments.

We call for the expropriation of transnational corporations' agricultural holdings, and their redistribution to family farmers and ranchers and Native Peoples.

We call for support of the labor organizing efforts of farmworkers.

We call for support of the efforts of all minority peoples to secure a land base.

We call for the return of federal and state lands in treaty areas to Native Peoples and other land-based peoples.

We call for the right of the people to determine how eminent domain is to be used.

We call for an end to the urban development that misuses rural land, especially prime agricultural land and areas of natural beauty.

We call for the revision of inheritance, estate and property taxes to benefit family farmers and ranchers.

We call for control of rural water resources by the consensus of all land-based people, and protection of water quality and quantity for rural and urban needs.

We call for the termination of all phases of nuclear energy development, and the promotion of safe and clean energy alternatives.

We call for an end to nuclear weapons development and the dismantling of nuclear weapons systems.

We call for the promotion of sisterhood and brotherhood among peoples of all races and social classes.

We call for an end to government's role as a political arm of big corporations, and establishment of a people's government.

We call for an end to the manipulation of the world economy by such non-elected bodies as the Trilateral Commission and the Committee on Economic Development.

We call for the establishment of a solidarity network with other people engaged in the international struggle for justice on the land.

Finally, we call for the recognition of our responsibility to be stewards of the land, to treat with respect and love our Mother Earth, who is a source of our physical nourishment and our spiritual strength.

We are people of the land. We believe that the land is not to be owned, but to be shared. We believe that we are the guardians of the land. The future of our children, and of all generations to come, will depend on our efforts today to prevent corporate seizure and abuse of the land. We challenge our concerned sisters and brothers throughout the world to unite with us in the struggle to liberate the land and all peoples from the economic and political domination of the transnational corporations and the governments that serve them.

The Great Spirit will guide our thoughts and strengthen us as we work to be faithful to our sacred trust and restore harmony among all peoples, all living creatures, and Mother Earth.

The struggle will be long and difficult. So let us begin.





# Children's Notes

by Carol Cornelius Mohawk

## UNLEARNING INDIAN STEROTYPES

Hi! We are sixth grade students from the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation in Wisconsin. The past two years we have been lucky because we have had Stockbridge teachers for our "culture" classes.

Our Stockbridge teacher showed us a filmstrip called "Unlearning Indian Stereotypes". It was a good filmstrip because it was Native children talking about stereotypes and they didn't think very much of stereotypes.

We talked for awhile about what a stereotype is and learned that a stereotype is when people say all Indians dress alike such as in warbonnets, warpaint, feathers, buckskin and beadwork. Many people who have never met us think that Native people carry tomahawks, live in teepees, are violent, mean, fierce, war—whooping all the time, scalping people and are killing cowboys and settlers.

Do you know that some of our teachers won't come on our reservation because they think there are "Indians lurking behind the trees ready to scalp them!" If they would come to visit us they would know better.

Most stereotypes are very wrong and people believe the stereotypes because they see them all the time in picture books, school books, television and movies.

Our assignment was to watch television for one week and make a list of all the stereotypes. It was a long list! We had to pick one stereotype that was the worst and write letters to the company that made it.

We decided that the Kentucky Fried Chicken commercial was the worst because it had



NATIVE CHILDREN TODAY

non-Native children wearing "warpaint and warbonnets" selling chicken. They were "playing Indian." Some people really think you can put on buckskin and feathers and be Native people!

Each of us wrote a letter to Kentucky Fried Chicken and told them that we thought their commercial was insulting to Native people. We wondered how people would feel if Native children dressed up in a George Washington wig and white stockings and "played George Washington" to sell chicken.

Our teacher made copies of our letters and sent the letters to the Kentucky Fried Chicken district office in Madison, WI and asked them to forward the letters to their national advertising offices, who write the commercials.

About two weeks later, we received letters from both offices and they said they did not intend to be insulting to Native peoples and they would be more sensitive in their new commercials. They told us they "rotated" the commercial. We know that means we would no longer see the commercial but they would show it in other parts of the country.

We wish everyone could see "Unlearning Indian Stereotypes" so they could begin to understand how Native children feel when we see untrue stereotypes about our people.



Vietnamese, Korea and Afro-American. Most of the books are also bi-lingual. Each book is beautifully illustrated.

This is a highly recommended series of childrens books which are sensitively, creatively, truthfully, written for K-6 grade levels but of interest to all ages.

Multi-cultural awareness has been developed in each book as the authors and artists have sensitively and beautifully touched on the values, belief systems, world view and creation stories of many peoples. Each book contains a brief, yet thorough, overview of history as it has affected children and/or explains more about the book in terms of the culture represented.

"The name FIFTH WORLD TALES is a tribute to certain beliefs of the Aztec people who were native to America before the arrival of the Europeans. According to the Aztec Elders, we are all now living in a world which was recreated for the fifth time many thousands of years ago.

The preceding four worlds had been destroyed because of the greed and selfishness of the people who lived in them. The Elders believed that this Fifth World offered great opportunities for the growth of the human race, but they also warned that this world too would be destroyed unless the people who live here could learn to care for one another and for all living things."



CAN  
YOU  
TELL  
ME  
WHAT  
IS

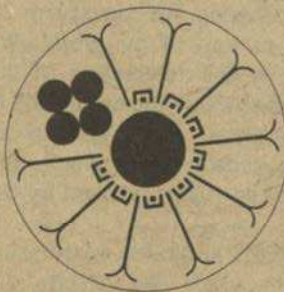


WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE ????

Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes is an invaluable tool in the classroom, whether your students are children or adults. It is a starting point with which to begin to eliminate the ingrained stereotypes which this society perpetuates on everyone.

It is our responsibility as educators to present children with correct information, real information. The teachers guide is packed full of vital information as well as activities for classroom use. Highly recommended.

UNLEARNING "INDIAN" STEROTYPES, A teaching Unit for Elementary Teachers and Children's Librarians. Includes filmstrip, cassette, 48 page teachers guide. Published by the Racism and Sexism Resource Center, a division of the COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN, 1841 Broadway, NY, N.Y. 10023. Cost: \$32.50.



FIFTH WORLD TALES

A series of childrens book by the Children's Book Press, Imprenta de Libros Infantiles, 1461 Ninth Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122.

The oral tradition of telling stories to teach a lesson is as old as time. Fifth World Tales provides each of us the opportunity to share in these educational stories from many cultures. "Stories for all children from the many peoples of America" includes stories from Native Americans, Aztec, Mayan, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Peru, Bolivia, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Colombia, Spanish, Chinese,

FANTASTIC  
BOOKS  
FOR  
CHILDREN!



# Opposition Mounts at Burnham

HEATED OPPOSITION TO BURNHAM COAL STRIPMINE

(The following article is reprinted from the COMMITTEE ON NATIVE AMERICAN STRUGGLES NEWSLETTER of the National Lawyers Guild, Summer 1980 edition, Vol. 4, no. 2.)

"Where will we all be 20 to 25 years from now when all the coal has been consumed and the companies operating these gasification plants have cleaned up and moved away. There will be nothing there; they will be working elsewhere, and we will be sitting on top of a bunch of ashes with nothing to live on..." — Lucy Keeswood, Coalition for Navajo Liberation, 1975.

On June 27, 1980 stripmining began at Burnham, New Mexico after years of battling in the courts and sustained opposition from the Navajo community residents. The 10th Circuit Court of Appeals on that day gave the go ahead to Consolidation Coal Company and El Paso Natural Gas (CONPASA) after earlier halting mining plans pending appeal of a lawsuit filed in 1978 by Burnham residents and the National Indian Youth Council of Albuquerque, N.M.. The appeals court accepted CONPASA's arguments that according to company plans, there would be no need for relocation for five years, no effect on grazing permits for the first year and thus no irreparable damage. The merits of the appeal cannot be considered until issuance of the written opinion of District Judge Santiago Campos, who denied the plaintiff's claim that CONPASA has failed to file an adequate environmental impact statement based on the National Environmental Policy Act, the National Historic Preservation Act and the Historic Archeological Act.

The facts fly in the face of the companies' legal arguments. The mining is going on just a few thousand feet from the hogans of the LaMone family, and in April, even before the injunction was removed, CONPASA began grading land 200 yards from the Burnham chapter house, the traditional center of the community.

During the so-called worker training sessions, five graves were desecrated in violation of state and federal law. One was the grave of Gene LaMone's sister. When confronted, Consolidation Coal reaffirmed its cultural insensitivity and blind greed: The most the company could do was erect a gravestone "in town somewhere"; it would be impossible to locate the body and restore the gravesite. No exceptions could be made when the coal was just four feet underground.

Lawyers for the Burnham residents obtained a temporary restraining order on April 14, but the company continued operations, assembling the huge stripmining machine known as a "dragline" and stabilizing the company's project office. On April 18, four days after the restraining order had been issued, the company leveled an area for incoming equipment.

With the company operating in violation of the court, Burnham residents decided to take direct action and called for support. Within hours, more than twenty persons occupied the Consolidation mine site. When minutes later 27 Navajo police and twice that number of personnel surrounded the site, the protesters moved 100 yards east, off the site, to avoid arrest. Headquarters for the camp was a canvas tent with a sign welcoming visitors to the "Commission on Whiteman Affairs" area office.

Throughout early July the company trained operators and brought in more equipment and supplies. While several of the more vocal protesters attended the International Survival Gathering in the Black Hills of South Dakota (July 18 — 27) the company began more intensive mining operations, destroying still more

gravesites. Enraged at the futility of the earlier negotiations with the company, two residents attacked the dragline, smashing the windows with stones and deactivating the gears with mud. The two were arrested and charged with multiple counts of destruction of property. Company plans to dynamite additional gravesite areas led to a second confrontation at the 10,000-acre compound on the morning of July 31. Burnham residents, joined by Indian supporters from out-of-state walked into the construction site and ordered all the workers and company security guards to leave. While some occupiers were allegedly armed with high-powered rifles and handguns, no force was used and no one was harmed. They held the site for six hours, contacting friends, supports and media. A list of 40 demands were issued, most having to do with environmental concerns. Among the demands were:

† That Burnham residents be given preference in hiring at the mines.

† That persons who must be relocated be given land and homes "according to the relocatee's preference and design."

† That land reclamation plans be approved by the Department of the Interior.

† That all gravesites remain undisturbed.

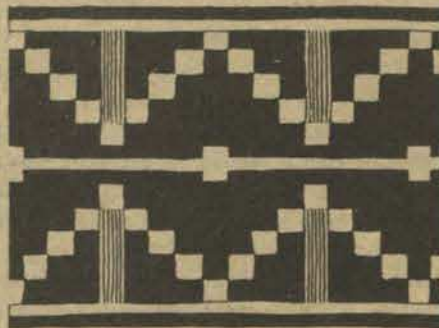
† That a new Chapter House be built if the old building is leveled because of mining operations.

A force of fifty heavily armed Navajo police stormed the compound after six hours and eventually arrested 14 Indians, 11 adults and 3 juveniles. All were charged with trespassing with force on tribal property. Eugene LaMone, one of the more outspoken residents, whose family faces relocation, was also charged with unauthorized use of a company vehicle and detaining a female security guard — charges that have no basis in fact and were apparently added to tie up Eugene in unnecessary, costly defense efforts.

All 14 pleaded innocent in Window Rock District Court on August 1, 1980 and were released on their own recognizance. A jury trial on their charges is set for December 8 in Shiprock, New Mexico, a stronghold of anti-mining sentiment and the base of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation.

Meanwhile, the company has vehemently denied that any gravesites have been destroyed during its mining operations, or that it had knowledge that gravesites could be disturbed. Lyn Gross, the company public information officer, said: "The location of these alleged gravesite disturbances never came up at the Chapter House with the families. We've attended all Chapter meetings, averaging one or two a month, for the last 12 years."

In fact, not only did the company refuse to discuss the location of grave sites, but on repeated occasions did not appear at Chapter meetings it called itself.



While Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDolald upholds the sacrifice of Burnham "to provide revenue necessary to meet the growing needs of the Navajo people," opposition mounts, not only from the local residents, but from the Coalition for Navajo Liberation, the local American Indian Movement and the people of the Independent Big Mountain Nation on the western half of the Navajo Nation (who also face relocation as a result of the U.S. government's "resolution" of the Hopi land claim which would remove over 6,000 Navajos from the Joint Use Area.)

The community continues to meet to determine strategies to combat the destruction of the land and the

people's culture and the potential relocation of at least 1000 residents. Years of unsuccessful legal battles and meaningless promises from Navajo officials have proved the only recourse to be what the Department of Energy terms "local resistance." Today's resistance has a history.

In December 1968 Consolidation Coal Company (a subsidiary of Continental Oil), in conjunction with El Paso Natural Gas, leased 40,000 acres with the approval of the Department of the Interior and the Navajo Tribe. Pacific Lighting Corporation, known for its interests in Pt. Conception (California) and the Crow (Montana) coal gasification plants, entered the deal with Texas Eastern Transmission. Western Gasification Company (WESCO) was formed and plans emerged for a mammoth coal gasification complex — six of the largest and best-built plants.

WESCO courts the Navajo Tribal Council with promises of money and jobs. Neither the company nor Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald could sell the gasification complex to the Burnham people, or to the Navajo Tribal Council.

On August 24, 1976, about 75 Burnham residents occupied Tribal Council headquarters to express their opposition. The next day, 18 people were arrested by Navajo police and charged with unlawful assembly. A year later the 18 were cleared of the charges. Headless of Burnham sentiment, however, MacDonald retained his interest in coal gasification and actively lobbied for HR12112, the forerunner of President Carter's synfuels bill.

In a May 28, 1976 letter to the House of Representatives, the majority of the Navajo Tribal Council expressed their disapproval of MacDonald's actions:

"We have recently read where Peter MacDonald, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, supported the proposed legislation HR 12112, to provide federal loan guarantees for synfuels, specifically coal gasification. Evidently Mr. MacDonald would have you believe that this is the official position of the Navajo Tribe.

"We as elected officials of the Navajo Nation have serious reservations concerning any federal loan guarantees that will hasten the exploitation of our resources for quick cash and nominal job opportunities. We do not believe that large scale energy development of this type would be as beneficial to the Navajo people as some would have us believe.

"While the people of the Burnham and Shiprock areas, who would be most directly impacted by the proposed synfuels developments, have passed resolutions against coal gasification and expanded stripmining, there is, as yet, no official position of the Navajo Tribe. Until the full Navajo Tribal Council considers these proposals, we, the undersigned, as members of the Navajo Tribal Council, stand opposed to HR 12112."

The letter was signed by 41 council members.

Peter MacDonald was not to be discouraged. In the March 24, 1980 issue of *Business Week*, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) headed by MacDonald outlined a plan for "What Indians Hope To Build." According to *Business Week*, plans include a coal gasification complex on the Navajo reservation, involving the Flour Corporation, the construction firm which brought coal gasification to South Africa (the SASOL plants) and has interests in the Crow complex. The article also notes that the "feasibility study" on the Navajo plants is complete — a surprise to Burnham residents and their attorneys.

Clearly, meeting the oil crisis does not mean creating a coal crisis. We must realize the destruction, desecration, disruption and genocide of this energy alternative and fight for others that assure a future for all of us.

(Material for this article was taken from "Synfuels Rears Its Head," by Winona LaDuke and conversations with Susan Tomita, an attorney for the Burnham residents. Subscribe to The CONAS Newsletter, % Eda Gordon, P.O. Box 6401, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87197.)



# GUATEMALA: An Indian Denounces

*(The daily death toll in Guatemala has doubled in the past year from a distressing 8-10 per day to an unbelievable rate of 20 persons killed each day. Statistics compiled by the Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR), indicate that, in the first two and a half months of this year, a thousand persons died in Guatemala as a direct result of the government's systematic repression of democratic forces.)*

THE INDIAN PEOPLES OF GUATEMALA DECLARE AND DENOUNCE TO THE WORLD THE MORE THAN FOUR CENTURIES OF DISCRIMINATION, NEGATION, REPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND MASSACRES BY THE FOREIGN INVADERS, WHICH CONTINUES EVEN TODAY THROUGH THEIR EVEN MORE SAVAGE AND CRIMINAL DESCENDANTS

## 1. THE MASSACRE OF IXIL AND QUICHE INDIANS IN THE EMBASSY OF SPAIN

In 1975 squads of the National Army arrived at Nebaj, a department of Quiche, and afterwards came soldiers of Somoza's National Guard, with the pretext of going there to maintain order. But the truth is that this region is the entrance to that known as the "Transversal del Norte", an area rich in minerals such as nickel, petroleum, and where the land is fertile for cattle and rich for the exploitation of lumber. A large part of this zone is populated by Indian people.

The population of Nebaj and its outlying regions works in "quadrillas" for the fincas of the southern coast: around 75% of the working population is "quadrillero". This people, mostly Indian, has begun to demand its rights which, for centuries, have been abused by owners of the fincas and by the government. With the presence of the national army came the burning of ranches and harvests, plundering of money and animals, threatening of women with weapons — forcible rape — robbery of the Indians working in the countryside, kidnappings, tortures, disappearances, assassinations, and massacres of Ixiles and Quiches. These towns are under siege by the National Army.

Because of the criminal acts of the National Army, at the end of 1978 about 50 women from Cotzal denounced them and demanded the return of their husbands, among whom were some leaders of Catholic Action and of Cooperatives. The authorities did not listen to the women, and the army continued killing our brothers and sisters in this zone.

The Indian peoples continued struggling, and on August 14, 1979, men and women demonstrated in Uspantan in order to demand of the Mayor that the army release our Indian brothers who had disappeared — kidnapped by the army. Struggles similar to this took place in Cotzal and the other towns of the region. But the army responded with ridicule, beatings, threats, and more kidnappings, and so the kidnapping of nine of our brothers in Uspantan took place. In view of this new criminal act of the National Army, 50 of our Indian brothers and sisters from Uspantan went to the capital to the Congress of the Republic to denounce the act, and to demand the return of the brothers kidnapped by the Army.

The response from the Congress, as usual, was ridicule, and later, to demand that they leave the Congress. On leaving, various of the workers and students who accompanied them were captured and kidnapped by the judicial authorities, one of the most repressive forces of the government and the rich. Afterwards, these companions were sent into exile.

In the month of December, six Indian brothers of Uspantan and 1 from Cotzal were massacred in Chajul, the same whose kidnapping had been denounced in September. In the midst of so much despair, again more than 100 of our Indian brothers and sisters from Uspantan, Chajul, Cotzal and Nebaj decided to go to the capital to denounce and to demand the end of the extensive repression which the army was carrying out in this zone. But the authorities did not listen to them, nor did the mass media publish anything, as the government threatened their employees with death if they denounced injustices.



This same government accused our people, Ixiles and Quiches, of being terrorists, subversives, and guerillas, and said they were not Indians because they talked Spanish and did not use "guarachas" (sandals) — all because it is not convenient for the rich and their government that the poor people of Guatemala and that the world learn the truth about what the Army is doing in the north of the Quiche.

Those who joined us in the suffering and struggles of our brother Indians were workers, townspeople, true Christians, committed students, and democratic institutions. Together they looked for some other way to make their voices heard through taking, peace-fully, the Spanish Embassy so that they could make the truth known to the poor of Guatemala and to the whole world, and to beg that a delegation of honorable persons go to investigate the acts of repression which the Ixil and Quiche peoples were suffering, and concretely, to beg for the re-burial and recognition of the seven Indian brothers massacred by the National Army in Chajul. For this reason the assassin government of Lucas ordered that its repressive forces gun down and burn alive our Indian brothers, together with all who had joined them in the struggle.

This same government told many lies to the people through the radio, press, and TV, in order to confuse them regarding the savage massacre of the Ixils and Quiches. Thirty-nine persons died, the majority being Indians, one poor ladino peasant, one worker, one townspeople and four students, all clear witnesses to our people and to the world of the criminals and assassins who constitute the government in Guatemala. They did not respect even the lives of their own people and of the Diplomats. Among the burned, one brother Indian, Gregoria Yuja Xona, was saved. He later was kidnapped from the hospital, tortured and assassinated by the government, so that no witnesses would remain. All of these acts that took place in the Spanish Embassy show the beastiality of the Lucas Government, which is not worried about abusing the rights of other nations in our country.

## 2. THE CASE OF THE MASSACRE IN THE SPANISH EMBASSY IS NOT AN ISOLATED CASE, BUT A PART OF A CHAIN OF MASSACRES.

Our people's suffering goes back for centuries, to 1524, when the criminal assassin Pedro de Alvarado arrived in these lands. The first massacre of Quiche Indians took place on the banks of the River Tonalá; later came the massacre of Xetulul; the massacre of

3,000 Indians in Chual; the massacre at the banks of the River Olinetepeque between Quezaltenango and Totonicapan in February, 1524. In March of the same year, Pedro de Alvarado ordered that the kings and chiefs of the Quiches be burned alive. The City of Chi-Gumarcas was also burned; the Massacre of Tzutujiles at the banks of the Lake of Atitlan; the massacre of Itzucintlan — in one night the criminal invaders entered the city and knifed all of the inhabitants; the Massacre of Cuscatlan in May of the same year; the Massacre of Cakchiqueles in Chij Xot (now Comalapa) in 1540, the Chief of the Cakchiquel, Chuuy Tzinquinu, was hung in 1541 the chiefs Chicbal and Nimbaj Quejchun were hanged. The massacres by these ambitious, assassin invaders were many.

At the end of the years of continuous massacres, another long chain of great sufferings began for our ancestors — those who survived. The life of exploitation, discrimination, oppression and persecution began, negation reached its limit when it was affirmed that our ancestors were not even human beings. The criminal invaders' lust for wealth had no limits; thus, the assassin Pedro de Alvarado obliged the Indian people to dig for gold, wash it, and construct churches and public buildings. The suffering was tremendous. They demanded great tributes from our grandfathers and robbed everyone of their jewels and their fertile lands. Their wives and daughters were raped.

— This was not enough: the cursed ones burned our religious books and the books where all of the scientific knowledge of our ancestors was written. The invaders tried to smash and destroy a whole culture without knowing anything about it, out of the blindness of their superiority complex.

Finally, our ancestors were put to slavery, were treated worse than beasts of burden, marked with hot irons, and obliged to do heavy work so that the criminal invaders could eat and become rich from the "ribs of our ancestors". For this forced work our ancestors received blows, insults and prejudice against their culture and their person, hunger, and death. Their most basic rights and dignity were trampled. In 1533 in Mexico an Indian slave cost 40 pesos, and in Guatemala, 2 pesos. And so in our past years, the invaders and their descendants became rich and our fathers lived in the worst misery, as is true today — working hard always, living in the mountains where the earth almost produces nothing.

In 1821 the offspring of the invaders "achieved Independence", but the situation of the Indian stayed the same. From this time onward, the descendants of the



invaders, the creoles, did not share the riches or the government with the kings of Spain, and all the riches that our grandfathers produced with their work were only for the ambitious descendants of the invaders.

The independence of our Indian people still has not come. Why? Because after the so-called independence of 1821, the robbery of our lands, discrimination and the negation of the Indian peoples, the exploitation, oppression, repression, assassinations, and massacres continued. What had changed was the way the rich accomplished these evil things.

The massacres continued after the Creole Independence of 1821 thus: the Massacre of Cakchiqueles in Patzicia in 1954, the Massacre of Sansirisay in 1978, the Massacre of Ixiles and Quiches in Chajul, Cotzal, Uspantan, Cunen, and other places from 1975 until our days; the massacre of Ixiles and Quiches in the Spanish Embassy on January 31, 1980.

**WHY SO MANY MASSACRES OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE?** The answer is very clear: **THE VORACITY AND AMBITION FOR RICHES OF THE CRIMINAL INVADERS CONTINUES IN THEIR RICH DESCENDANTS.**

And to be able to continue robbing land and forcing work from the Indian, these rich criminals created the National Army in 1872, the period of the Thief and Assassin Justo Rufino Barrios. Thief, because he robbed many communal lands from our people to plant coffee, which is one of the crops that produces the most money for the rich today. He also obliged our people no longer to use their Indian names, particularly in the Mam region, San Marcos.

From 1872 until 1974, the National Army served to take care of the wealth of a handful of rich persons. With the army at its beck and call, they have been able to rob, conserve and increase their wealth at the "ribs" of the Indians and poor ladinos, robbing them of their work force in the coffee, cane and cotton fields, and in the factories.

But from 1974 on, the Army stopped taking care of the money and interests of the rich. The Colonels and Generals also wanted to be rich, and for this reason took over the government and began to rob the lands of our people, making dirty business agreements to plunder. An example of this is the assassins and military thieves Arana Osorio and Laugerud, and the military "cobaneros", such as Spigler, and Lucas Garcia (one of the principal landlords now in the Transversal del Norte zone, as are other high military chiefs in the Army). The greater part of this zone, and a large part of the Peten, is being given out in this way among the high military chiefs, and to some other rich people.

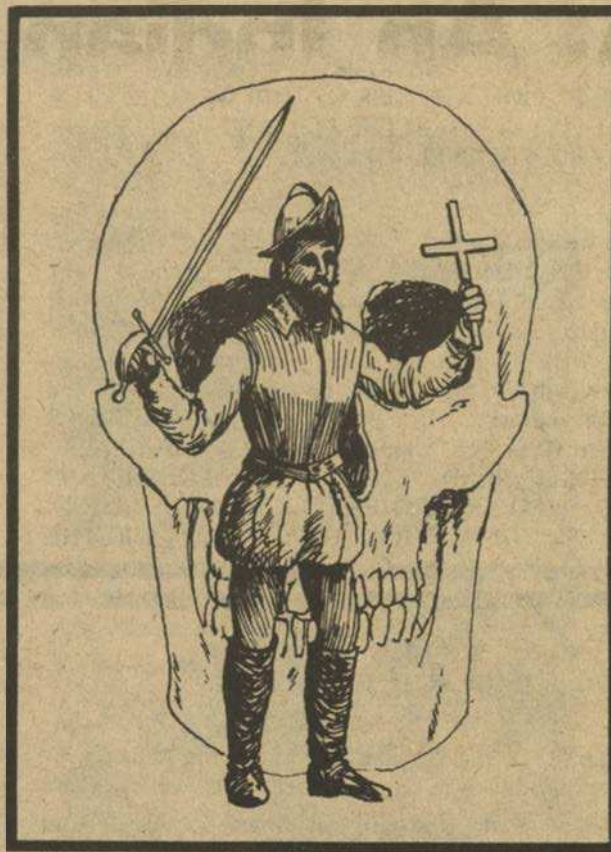
And in these same zones brother Ixiles, Quiches, Achis, Kekchies, Pocomahies, have been living for centuries; thus, they are the most affected by the dispossession of lands, threats, kidnappings, assassinations, and massacres by the Army and the finca owners. Together with this is also the foreign companies' thirst for wealth, thus exploiting the land for nickel, petroleum, and other natural resources.

The massacres, the robbery of lands, the discrimination, and all types of injustice continue:

Robbery of lands in Santa Maria de Jesus in 1978  
in San Antonio Aguascaliente  
in San Martin Jilotepeque, finca la Merced  
In Olopa y Sansirisay  
in Livingston, Izabal  
in Joya Grande, Chimaltenango by Bandesa, 1979  
In rio Negro, Rabinal, by the Inde, in 1979  
in Pacaguex, San Andres Sajcabaja, 1978  
and many other places.

These rich nationals and their governments, in complicity with rich foreigners such as the "gringos", kidnap, torture, rob, discriminate against, and kill the Indian peoples and the other poor peoples of Guatemala, not only through the National Army but also through the military police, the Commando 6, the Peleton Modelo, the G-2, and other groups, comprising altogether 13 repressive, criminal groups. These same groups are the ones which appear with other names such as "the White Hand", "the Death Squad", "the Eye for an Eye", and ESA, and the FUA. What is more, "ghost" groups (which really do not exist) seem to appear to be backing the criminal government.

All of the repressive bodies and the murderers receive



#### ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

**AKWESASNE NOTES**  
Mohawk Nation  
via Roosevelttown, New York 13683  
(518)358-9531

their training from "gringos", from the U.S. itself, with money often from AID, and instructors from the CIA. On a par with these criminal assassins who have salaries, the rich and the military use the commissioned military officers as spies to control the organizations and leaders of our towns, to facilitate the kidnapping and killing of our leaders. These traitors very soon will have to account to our people who call for justice.

But these criminal descendants of the invaders have come killing our people in many ways: they have been killing us by hunger, paying us miserable salaries in the fincas and factories; they also rob us in the weight of the coffee and cotton, poison us in the fields, raise the prices of products of primary necessity such as sugar, salt, soap, fertilizers, equipment.

Also, they kill us when they transport us in trucks which were not made to carry persons. For this, year after year many Indian brothers die when these trucks turn over; the law prohibits the use of trucks to transport people, but since this deals with Indians, the owners of the fincas and the government are not interested in the abuse of these laws.

Another way in which they are killing us is through deceit and lies: family planning is imposed on our wives. They kill our children, too, when they are taken off to the army barracks with blows and kicks. There they murder their noble sentiments, those which characterize our people, and change them into killers. And these, our sons, are the ones that the rich and high military chiefs use to kill their own people — all to defend money and the interests of the rich, the Colonels and the Generals.

These rich and their government are the worse liars because they massacre us in various ways and still try to deceive us, setting up "fiestas folkloricos" such as the day of Tecun Uman, the day of the Raza, festivals which

are like those of Coban, and finally, Solola Huehuetenango, giving out little medals, diplomas, pats on the back and little smiles to certain professionals and "regal" Indians.

Their cheating ends in speeches filled with lies, and finally, the photographs which the INGUAT exploits for tourist trade. The INGUAT is the organization in charge of the touristic propaganda outside Guatemala. It paints Guatemala in a very romantic and picturesque way with its Mayan ruins, its weaving, dances, and traditions. The Indian becomes an object of Tourism, a commercial object. All the benefits of this business are for the hotel chains, transportation business, the middle men for the Indian crafts, and the government itself. But we, the Indians, are those who gain the least benefits from tourism, which in the last few years has been the second place in the economy of the nation.

Another way of cheating used by the government is to betray our boys in the barracks, telling them that they are there to defend the sovereignty of the nation, the fatherland, liberty, and religion. They cheat us through all of the politicians, they cheat us through all the religious sects, they preach that God made rich and poor, that hunger, misery, exploitation and massacres are the will of God, that the authorities, even if they are criminals and assassins, are to be obeyed. This God and these preachments are convenient for the rich and their government.

But when valiant prophets appear who denounce their crimes and shamefulness, these rich say they are interfering in politics, that they are accomplices of the communists, because they don't want our people to see the truth and to demand justice. For this reason many catechists have been murdered and many Christians have been expelled from the country.

**3. BUT IN THE FACE OF ALL THIS OUR VOICE AND OUR STRUGGLE ADVANCES AT A FIRM PACE TOWARDS OUR LIBERATION.**

In the face of all these savage acts of the invaders and their rich descendants, the government's complicity with the rich and other countries, such as the United States, in the face of persecution, threats, tortures, dispossession of lands, cheating and massacres by the National Army and police forces, bands of killers, politicians, and spies we know are in all the towns, the Indian people have never stopped struggling.

History and the present are a testimony of our constant struggle. From the time of the Spanish invasion in 1524, our grandfather Quiches, Tzutujiles, Pocomanes, Mames, Kekchies, and their people fought with decision and courage to defend their lives, lands and culture. The Cakchiqueles even forced the invaders to abandon the first capital of Guatemala.

Among the rebellions of greater importance after the invasion are: Chiapas in 1708, Mames of Ixtaguacan in 1743, Santa Lucia Utatlan in 1760, Cakchiqueles in Tecpan in 1764, Kekchies in Coban in 1770, San Martin Cuchumatanes, Santiago Momostenango, Ixtaguacan in 1813, the Quiches headed by Atanacio Tzul in Totonicapan in 1820, Jumay in 1838, the Quiches in Totonicapan in 1905, the Cakchiqueles in Patzicia, the Xejuju between Solola and Suchitepequez in 1971, and many more. This demonstrates our people's unending struggle.

Continuing the example of struggle and suffering is the latest massacre in the Spanish Embassy where 21 Indian brothers and sisters fell, machine-gunned and burned alive, among them four women. They gave their lives valiantly in this peaceful taking of the Embassy, leaving their parents, wives, and children forever. This is no casual occurrence, since the Indian woman always was and is part of our struggle, since she has always been exploited in the cotton, cane and coffee fields, and discriminated against because of her clothing, language, and customs, and by her condition as woman. She has been betrayed through rape — unmarried, married or pregnant — by the National Army and the rich exploiters, in the countryside, in the city, and in every corner of Guatemala.

To end all these evils perpetrated by the descendants of the rich invaders and their government, we must fight allied with workers, poor ladino peasants, committed students, townspeople, and other popular and democratic sectors, to strengthen the union and



solidarity among the Indians and poor ladinos, since the solidarity of the popular movements with the Indian struggle has been sealed with their lives in the Spanish Embassy. The sacrifice of these lives brings us now closer than ever to a new society and the dawn of the Indian's liberty.

May the blood of our Indian brothers and their example of a firm struggle and their valor strengthen all of the Indians in their continuing struggle to secure a just life: FOR A SOCIETY OF EQUALITY AND RESPECT; BECAUSE OUR INDIAN PEOPLES CAN DEVELOP THEIR CULTURE NOW BROKEN BY THE CRIMINAL INVADERS; FOR A JUST ECONOMY WHERE NO ONE EXPLOITS OTHERS, SO THAT THE EARTH WILL BE COMMUNAL AS OUR ANCESTORS HAD IT; FOR A LAND WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, SO THAT ALL REPRESSION, TORTURE, ASSASSINATION AND MASSACRE MAY BE ENDED; SO THAT FORCED INDUCTION BY KIDNAPPING

STOP; SO THAT WE ALL HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS TO WORK; SO THAT WE NO LONGER SERVE AS OBJECTS OF TOURISM; FOR THE JUST DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF OUR WEALTH AS IN THE TIMES IN WHICH THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF OUR ANCESTORS FLOURISHED.

But we also have to be clear that while we struggle for all of this, the rich and their government always will accuse us of being communist, terrorist, delinquents, subversives, guerillas, etc. But in the face of the slander and lies of the rich and their government, our Indian peoples will continue rising up step by step until the triumph because THE BLOOD OF OUR HEROES MASSACRED THE 31st OF JANUARY, THE LIFE, STRUGGLE AND BLOOD OF ALL INDIANS MASSACRED FROM THE TIME OF THE INVASION, BECAUSE THE BLOOD OF THE INDIAN AND THE

POOR LADINO POURED OUT ON THE PATH OF OUR STRUGGLE, HAS FERTILIZED AND FORTIFIED OUR HOPES AND OUR STRUGGLE.

That all of the exploited and discriminated Indians of the world, that all the workers of the world, that all the free and democratic peoples of the world, that all the authentic Christians of the world establish their solidarity in the struggle of the Indian peoples and other exploited peoples of Guatemala, That all rise up, call out to everyone, that there be not even one or two groups among us who are left behind. POP WUJ.

A Guatemalan Brother, February 1980



## Peru: Campa Nation Calls For Help

Fights land dispossession scheme

The largest Indian nation in the Peruvian forest is that of the Campa, or Ashaninka People. They are a conscious and well-organized people; hunters, craftsmen, farmers, mothers and warriors. Recently they have informed us that they are currently involved in a fight to protect their remaining territories.

In 1979, the Campa began the process of trying to acquire title to their remaining traditional territories.

During 1974, the Peruvian government under then President Gen. Velasco passed a new law concerning the Amazonian Indian communities. From the Indian point of view this law was the most enlightened in all of South America. Its most important provision was that rather than divide the land in "Allotment Act" fashion, the land used by Indian settlements was to be titled in the name of the settlement itself. The law did not provide for adequate blocks of forest to be titled to entire Indian nations but at least individual Indian settlements were to be officially recognized as such (they would be called Native Communities) and the title awarded to each community. No other South American state has ever awarded land titles (as opposed to reserves) communally to forest Indians. The 1974 Peruvian Indian law was hailed as an immensely important step for the forest Indians of Peru in promoting the defence of their land rights.

During 1974 and the following to years the titling process began and, by the end of 1976, in the Department of Loreto alone some 151 communities held communal land titles. In almost all cases the titled area was too small to support the population but at least the land belonged to the Indians — or did it?

In 1976 a bloodless coup brought Gen. Morales Bermudez to the President's office and many progressive measures which had been started by the self-declared revolutionary military government in the early 1970's were cut back. The bureaucratic processes of titling Indian land continued but, since the end of 1976 no Indian community (at least) in the Department of Loreto has actually received title to their lands.

Originally covering most of the "central Forest" (Selva Central) around the rivers Chanchamayo, Perene, Satip, Pichis, Apurimac, Ene, Tambo, upper Ucayali and the Gran Pajonal zone, the Campa Nation, over the last hundred years has been completely pushed out of the river Chanchamayo and largely removed from the Perene and Satip under pressure from Peruvian colonists.

In the wake of several invasions by Peruvian colonists, many Campa sought refuge along the more remote river Ene where there are now some 40 Campa communities. They have a hard life, attempting to maintain their hunting, fishing and planting culture on an already inadequate land base.

In 1979, Campa activists began the process of trying to acquire land titles. By October of that year the boundaries had been drawn around 45 hectares for a consolidated 12 Campa communities, which would encompass the 40 settlements. During the months of August and September they finalized the surveys of their lands and in October their title documentation was in

the hands of the Regional office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition. The papers presented, there were agreements from official channels and all that remained was for approval to be granted by the Regional Management of the Ministry of Agriculture and Supply (Direccion Regional del Ministerio de Agricultura y Alimentacion).

### APPROVAL BLOCKED

Wealthy merchants mainly from Ayacucho and Lima and past employees of the Ministry of Agriculture and the defunct state institution SINAMOS, seeing the land potential of the Ene slipping into the hands of its rightful owners, formed a number of bogus, unrecognised and illegal "co-operatives" to occupy the area. Through a propaganda campaign they recruited landless peasants who paid the "co-operatives" 31,500 soles for a parcel of land which was not theirs to sell and which, moreover, was the same land due to be titled to the Campa — a typical settler regime tactic: landless and unemployed peasants being used as the spearhead by the businessmen and professionals to open up the countryside to their economic benefit. (It should be obvious to people of good sense that these upper classes of people are the only real beneficiaries in the creation of the phantom cooperatives. They pit the poor peasants against the Campa Indians and thus, while keeping their hands clean of day-to-day conflicts, stand to reap the most benefit.)

The first of these "co-operatives", the *Empresa Agroindustrial Santo Domingo* (now dissolved), entered the Ene in October 1979. Two Hundred colonists were contracted and settled between the Indian communities of Anapate and Sanibeni on first the left bank and then on both banks of the river. The Indians asked the Ministry of Agriculture to intervene and notification was given for the colonists to quit the right bank of the river. Between November 1979 and the following January, four other equally unrecognised and illegal "co-operatives" entered the area (they were called *Cooperativa Agraria de Servicios Selva Virgen*, *Cooperativa Agraria de Servicios Selva de Ora*, *Cooperativa de Agricultores Santa Ines* & *Asociacion de Agricultores Primativera*). Most of the directors were, again, the wealthy of Ayacucho and, in some cases, the recruited colonists were paid 250 soles a day for working the land.

### ENTER: TIMBER COMPANIES

The problems of the Ene Campa are not, however, restricted to the theft of their land by the fake "co-operatives" — two timber companies with high-level political and economic support also have their eyes on the Ene. The FASA company (Forestal Apurimac Sociedad Anonima) has obtained permission to study forest extraction over 100,000 hectares of the Ene's left bank. FASA's manager, Carolos Rivera, is an ex-employee of the Forest Management office. One of the partners in FASA is an ex-Minister of the Economy, Gen. Saenz Barsallo.

In a curious piece of double-talk the Ministry of

Agriculture in Lima asked FASA to do a study on land holdings in the region. They flew over the river and declared that the left bank of the Ene was uninhabited. This, despite the fact that it is the very same Ministry in Lima which holds the title papers for the Campa. FASA, of course, knows about the Indians and despite their declaration that the area is uninhabited they have now appealed against the demarcation of the Campa communities' territory.

The second extractive company is represented by one Franco Levi who is asking for a concession of 400,000 hectares on the right bank of the Ene and Tambo.

The Campa are seeing their lands being taken over once again. There is nowhere left for them to go and there have been already minor incidents involving armed conflicts between the Indians and the colonists.

The Campa People have requested the assistance, internationally, of all those concerned with human rights. Their struggle is to survive as a People in their own homeland against the genocidal greed of western profiteers.

We urge all our readers to campaign for a day on their behalf. Let the Peruvian government (the Ministry of Agriculture)/know that the extermination of the Campa Nation will not go unnoticed!

Convince them of the righteousness of giving the Campa what is rightfully theirs!

Encourage Peruvian officials to support their own laws!

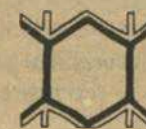
### SAMPLE:

Peruvian legislation of 1978 guarantees the Campa the lands which they use. Demarcation for the lands of twelve Native Communities had already been presented to the authorities by October 1979. No land titles have, however, been forth coming. The communities now face invasions from five illegal and bogus "cooperatives" and two extraction enterprises. All of these are acting in flagrant violation of Peruvian legislation as well as a number of international covenants and conventions pertaining to indigenous peoples to which Peru is a signatory.

Over the past decade Peru can be proud of having passed legislation which has been called the most enlightened in South America pertaining to Amazonian Indians. It could only be regarded as a tragedy for the natives of Amazonia, for justice and for Peru if that legislation is to be blocked and contravened by organizations whose sole motive is profit at the expense of the defenceless.

Direct your efforts to:

Direccion General de Reforma Agraria  
y Asentamiento Rural,  
Cahuide 805  
Jesus Maria,  
Lima, Peru





# BRAZIL: Nambiquaras & World Bank

## EXTERMINATION OF THE NAMBIQUARA

From: Anthropology Resource Center, July 25, 1980

The World Bank is considering a plan to finance a variant of federal highway BR-364 in Mato Grosso which, if approved, would result in the extermination of the 620 Nambiquara Indians who inhabit the area. In a set of documents and telegrams recently sent to the World Bank President Robert MacNamara, eighteen Indian defense organizations in Brazil denounced the plans for the BR-364 variant because it would condemn to death the Nambiquara people.

The Nambiquara Nation traditionally inhabited an area of over 50,000 square kilometers in Northwestern Mato Grosso and Rondonia. At the beginning of the 20th Century, their population was estimated to be 20,000. In 1980, their population is 620, of whom 250 face immediate death if the BR-364 variant is financed.

The Nambiquara who live in the Guapore Valley, on the border of Brazil and Bolivia, were probably first contacted in the beginning of the 18th Century. For over 200 years, Nambiquara warriors kept the white explorers away from the rich and fertile Guapore Valley. In 1980, the great Marechal Rondon made friendly contacts with the Nambiquara and they provided Rondon with invaluable assistance in putting up telegraph lines in the area. The Nambiquara then had to confront rubber gatherers from 1940 to 1960. Many were taken away to work or died from diseases as a result. In 1960, highway BR-364 opened up Mato Grosso to penetration by scores of white settlers. Other roads were built, airstrips were made, deforestation occurred, and cattle ranchers came. The contacts with the Nambiquara were called "peaceful" but in 1967-8, the first massacre of Nambiquara was reported.

In 1968, FUNAI created a reserve for the Nambiquara which was not in the Guapore Valley but on the other side of BR-364. This area was actually inhabited by about 10% of the Nambiquara, while up to 70% of the area was unsuitable for farming, covered mostly by sand and inhospitable forest. Nine days after the creation of the Nambiquara reserve, FUNAI began to issue land permits to cattle ranchers who denied that there were any Nambiquara living in the Guapore Valley. When the Nambiquara were "discovered", FUNAI quickly evacuated the people from the area to the inhospitable land on the other side of the highway.

## RELOCATION OF THE NAMBIQUARA

In 1970-71, the entire Guapore Valley was bought up by 22 huge ranching corporations. FUNAI and the Brazilian Air Force had to rescue the Indians of the valley by transferring them out of the area by helicopter into the new reserve. Many died of hunger and a measles epidemic killed the entire Nambiquara population under 15 years of age. Flu, malaria, and other epidemics continued to wipe out the Nambiquara. One Red Cross physician declared in 1973: "The life of the Nambiquara Indians is an embarrassment not only for Brazil but for humanity."

Starving on their new reserve, Nambiquara quickly returned to their former homelands. FUNAI transferred them a second time, with the help of the ranchers. FUNAI then issued other permits to ranchers again denying the presence of the Nambiquara on traditional lands. For the Nambiquara who returned again to their homes, the cattle ranchers put up barbed wire fences around their settlements. Later they flew over Nambiquara gardens dumping noxious weeds on them. Other ranchers refused all medical services to Nambiquara suffering from pneumonia.

The ranchers have totally destroyed the forests surrounding the Nambiquara reserve by their use of Tordon 155-BR, the famous Agent Orange produced by Dow Chemical. In 1977, the government prohibited its use but then the ranchers used Tordon 101-BR as a substitute. Besides destroying the forests, the chemicals have caused contamination of the rivers and this has resulted in serious epidemics of dysentery.



Robert MacNamara

FUNAI has periodically sent out task-forces to demarcate a new reserve but the ranchers have consistently refused to accept their proposals. They say they have legitimate rights to the land issued to them years ago. The area which has been set aside for the Nambiquara is nearly fifty times smaller than the area which they traditionally inhabited. Ranchers are still urging FUNAI to reduce the area set aside to about one-fourth its size. According to them, they have titles to the land and the Indians "came after the ranchers" had occupied the area.

To date, the World Bank has not made a decision on whether to finance the federal highway BR-364 variant. The variant would clearly benefit the ranchers. The Brazilian Minister of Transports has stated that in spite of the documentation presented to MacNamara by the pro-Indian groups, the routing of the highway would not be changed. *Porantim*, an Indian newspaper published in Manaus, stated in its May, 1980 issue:

*"It is necessary that people resist the destructiveness of the ranchers who only wish to see cattle grazing on lands soaked with the blood of the Nambiquara people, extracting wealth for the death of a people."*



Persons who wish to protest this situation should contact Mr. Robin Wright at Anthropology Resource Center, 59 Temple Place, suite 444, Boston, Massachusetts 02111



## AMAZONIA

Throughout the Amazonia tropical rain forests there has been an extensive campaign to bring people in to develop this land. It is helped in most part by the building of 14,000 km of highways through the Amazon. They are being built to open up this wilderness region for the peasant population from drought-stricken, northeast Brazil.

Little or no thought and no scientific study

Little or no thought was used and no scientific studies were conducted as to the effects the highway would have in regards to the structure of the land or whether native Indian people would be displaced. It was planned that 100 km would be allowed on each side of the highway for homesteading and cultivation. These areas have been cleared by burning with no intent of eventually returning them to their natural state.

In the past, local people of the tropical rain forests have used a form of shifting agriculture — using a small section of land for two or three growing seasons — then moving on and allowing that piece of land to regenerate. These periodic moves occur often enough that secondary tree species soon grow from dormant seeds still in the soil. Eventually, primary tree species grow from seeds brought in by natural dispersants such as animals, wind and water. Not as much land is used as in intensified farming and it is much easier for the land to recover and for forest to grow again.

Most people cannot understand that the tropical rain forest is different than drier tropical forests or temperate climate forests in regenerative characteristics. The tropical rain forest has an intricate ecosystem. It does not have the ability to survive as well under adverse conditions.

In the natural tropical rain forest, the primary trees create a canopy. This cover causes moisture, taken from the water table through the tree roots, to recycle itself through the tree to the air which generates rainfall. The moistness causes decay among dead plants and fallen leaves on the forest floor. The decaying vegetation releases essential nutrients into the soil. The soils of deforested land are less fertile due to loss of nutrients by water run-off and erosion. Loss of cover also allows drying and oxidizing by the sun. In a short time, the soil becomes rock-like.

Another problem in trying to regenerate cleared tropical land is that primary tree species generally have seeds that don't live long. When the forest is destroyed, the seeds don't remain dormant for as long a time as it takes for the conditions to allow them to grow again. Secondary tree species have much harder seeds that regenerate more easily. Because of this, lower stature forests grow where extensive deforestation ... occurred as primary trees are wiped out and secondary trees mix with plants of drier climates which are more adaptable. The land becomes a semi-desert with a whole change in climate.

Attempts to introduce other species of tall trees to these areas usually fail because of predators or disease foreign to these species which have no built-in immunities.

There is already some local extinction of species.

Plants and animals are dependent on one another to continue existing. Loss of one species can cause eventual destruction of a whole section of forest. There is no chance of regeneration by natural invasion in areas of local extinction with the highways and developed areas separating natural sections of forest.



This information comes from a collage of readings assembled by Hugh H. Iltis, Department of Botany, University of Wisconsin, Madison. It was assembled for the Amazonia Symposium presented by the University of Wisconsin Natural History Council in April, 1978.



# SOLAR ENERGY—THE INDIAN WAY

The following article is an excerpt from a longer one by Tom Barry, and is rewritten from Native Self-sufficiency, October 1979 issue.

American Indians have had a long history of opposing development plans not in their interest. Too often talk of economic development by the BIA and the white corporate world has meant development not for Indians but for the white world. Indian nations have begun to take steps to free themselves from their position as economic colonies of the industrialized world.

The recent enthusiasm among Native Americans in the United States for appropriate technology and the use of solar energy is an important part of the Indian movement for self determination and self-sufficiency.

Indian people throughout the country are now taking bold steps to develop their own communities using low scale technology such as wind generators, solar water pumps, and passive solar greenhouses. The availability of solar energy systems and other types of appropriate technology provides an exciting possibility for self-development. The projects not only reduce energy costs but also provide jobs for many unemployed on the reservations.

What is appropriate technology?

"Appropriate technology is technology on a scale that maximizes the well being of people in a society, primarily those who interact with the technology", stated C.D. Kolstad, D.P. Grimmer, P. Reno and J. Tutt in their October 1976 report "Appropriate Technology and Navajo Economic Development". The authors offered the following qualifications of appropriate technology. It should be:

- \* cheap enough to be affordable;
- \* suitable for small scale application;
- \* compatible with people and the environment;
- \* decentralized in basic production.

Appropriate technology increases people's productivity without eliminating their involvement in production. Indian people have been eliminated from important roles in much of the economic development now taking place on the reservations. Energy development and mining, for example, are centralized, large scale production using high technology. That kind of technology has caused environmental destruction, a scarcity of natural resources and disruption of the Indian population.

A type of development more appropriate to Indian people are economic development projects at the grassroots level where Indian people, even the most traditional, can participate in and control the production.

## Two Birds With One Stone

The use of solar energy for heat and power is a form of appropriate technology. In the Southwest, where the sun is the hottest, the use of solar energy by Indians is most intense.

Andrew Marshall, director of the Solar Demonstration Project in Arizona, says that Indians were the country's first solar architects, so it is only natural that they are now eagerly adopting solar energy systems in their communities. The ancestors of today's Pueblo Indian demonstrated their solar architecture in the ancient cliff dwellings of Mesa Verde and Betatakin. They employed passive solar heating concepts to allow the sun's radiation to reach their homes during the winter months while the cliff overhangs protected them from the direct sun in the summer.

The Solar Demonstration Project installs solar water heaters on Arizona reservations. Marshall says the solar energy systems are breaking the dependence on expensive gas and electric utilities. "Indian people are realizing they can't be self-sufficient and independent until they are free of the high utility bills they are now suffering under", he says. "We are seeing homeowners paying \$150 and \$250 a month in utility bills for homes provided by the government. The utility bills are becoming their greatest expense."

The Solar Demonstration Project, a program of the Indian Development District of Arizona, trains and

employs an Indian work team who travel to Arizona reservations to install solar water heaters in the homes of the most needy. Infused with team spirit and ethnic pride, the Indian solar workers call themselves the "Arizona Solar Savages".

"The project kills two birds with one stone", says Marshall. "It provides energy and it provides jobs."

The Solar Demonstration Project encourages Indian involvement in all stages of the growing solar energy business, from skill training to installation and parts manufacturing. Marshall says the solar development business is an alternative to the government handouts that don't encourage internal economic development.

In keeping with their belief in encouraging Indian development, the Solar Development Project uses solar panels manufactured by the Birdsprings Solar Corporation, a Navajo cooperative in Birdsprings, Arizona.

The solar business in Birdsprings, located 24 miles north of Winslow, Arizona, grew out of the efforts of this isolated Navajo community to build a school for their children.

## Alternative to Uranium Mining

On the eastern side of the Navajo reservation, the Cameron Chapter started the Cameron Farm Project which is now in the business of creating an agricultural base of economic development in the Navajo chapters that border the Little Colorado River.

The project emphasizes all types of appropriate technology in its plans to plant 200 acres each year. Ross Smallcanyon, instructor of appropriate technology for the farm project: "It is the members of the traditional sector that will benefit first with the hay for their sheep and with the employment and the training the project offers."

One of the more heartening results of the project is that it has helped bring the parents and their children closer together. Smallcanyon explains that schooling in English has created a gap between the children and their Navajo speaking parents, but that fissure in relations is now being cemented together as the young people and the old work together on the same projects of the new farm.

## Conventional Technology Insensitive

One of the forces behind the turn of Indian people to solar energy and appropriate technology is the Native American Appropriate Technology Action Council in Albuquerque, New Mexico. NAATAC director Rudy Poleahla, a Hopi, says the aim of the group is to educate and train Indian people in appropriate technology.

NAATAC believes that many conventional forms of technological development have proven contrary to the interests of Indian tribes. They liken the position of Indian people to the developing nations of the Third

World. Much of the conventional technology, NAATAC says, has been insensitive to the cultural values of Indian people. It is necessary to develop technology and methods of production that "consider the total tribal community, the preservation of its cultural society and which assists in its future development".

One of the first projects of the two year old organization has been the construction of a passive greenhouse on the Laguna Pueblo.

Ken Martinez, the director of the Laguna CETA Program, says the purpose of the greenhouse, which is attached to the Headstart school is "not only to provide the benefits of solar power to the Pueblo but also to serve as an introduction to the potential of appropriate technology" to the residents and officials of the Pueblo.

Tom Heidelbaugh, who also helped with the Laguna project, calls the greenhouse "The Mother Ship" and sees it as the forerunner of similar projects throughout the Indian world.

Heidelbaugh says Indian people have a special advantage in the innovative uses of appropriate technology because Indians live in small, self-governed communities. "We have a lot of freedom the Anglos don't have because we are not centralized in cities where



you would have to deal with the power companies who see solar energy as a threat rather than as an alternative. Indian people have been living in small communities for thousands of years and this decentralized, environmentally sound kind of development is right for our situation."

In the Four Corners Area of Shiprock, New Mexico, the Appropriate Technology Center at the Navajo Community College is tackling an energy problem that is confronting more and more Navajo families who move from the interior of the reservation to the border cities like Shiprock. Their weatherization program is concentrating on the owners of mobile homes who have trouble keeping their homes warm.

Ken Nabahe, director of the program, says that students from the college are installing storm windows, insulating the homes and putting skirts around the bottom of the mobile homes to lower the costs of utility bills. The student crews have also worked on installing small solar greenhouses onto the mobile homes to provide heat and a source of food for these low income people. Recently, the program in Shiprock also began work on a large solar greenhouse at the college which will be a model for future greenhouse construction in the area.

Nabahe says that Indian people, like all poor people, are more likely to take advantage of appropriate technology "because they have been using different forms of appropriate technology all along to save money".

On the Navajo Reservation another pioneer of the use of solar energy is Richard Birkey, the coordinator of a solar project at the Window Rock High School in Arizona called SAW (Solar, Adobe and Wind). SAW has been experimenting with solar heated hogans — the stone and mud homes of the Navaho people.

At a conference on appropriate technology this spring, Birkey said that Indian people in the Southwest could cut down their fuel requirements by 75% if they attached a simple passive heat gain system to their south walls. While large scale solar development is years away, Birkey said that Indian people have a tremendous opportunity to use low scale solar systems now to solve their energy problems.

Navajo people could become leaders in this area because they often build their own homes and could easily utilize the direct sun that pounds down on the reservation he says.

## North to Alaska

The Southwest, while the center of appropriate technology projects because of the year round sun, does not have a monopoly on appropriate technology.

In the Northwest, the use of solar energy by Indians is also becoming popular. In the solar vanguard is Native American Solar, an Indian corporation in Washington State. Jerry Malone, the director of solar energy and appropriate technology projects for the Puyallup Tribe, says there is a fast growing awareness among the tribes in the Northwest that solar energy works even in their cloudy climate.

Native American Solar emphasizes the training of Indian workers in the skills of the solar industry so that they will be assured jobs when they leave Native American Solar.

Malone sees appropriate technology such as greenhouses and solar water heaters as particularly



# New Mexico: Chicanos and Uranium Development

by TOM BARRY

New Mexico is one of the more sparsely-populated and poor states in the nation. Its 1.3 million people have an annual per capita income that ranks among the lowest five states. Vast Mesas stretch out to the brilliant sunsets, Indian pueblos maintain their ancient ceremonies, and small Chicano communities nestled in the high mountains remain strong and intact. But in the last decade or so change has hit New Mexico hard and fast. It is now the largest uranium producer in the U.S. The large Chicano population of New Mexico is being seriously affected by this change. One Chicano community faces the Department of Energy (DOE), which plans to locate its largest nuclear waste depository right in the community's lap. Two other large areas in the state which are predominantly Chicano are now being threatened by uranium mining and milling, described the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) as "the most significant sources of radiation exposure to the public from the entire uranium fuel cycle, far surpassing nuclear reactors of high level waste disposal."

A group of small Chicano communities ring the huge Mount Taylor in northwestern New Mexico, in the middle of a booming area called the Grants Uranium Belt. The energy companies have long been involved in this area but ignored Mount Taylor during the first twenty years of development because the ore was too deep for profitable extraction. But the elevated selling price of uranium during the 1970s has made these deep reserves now worth going after.

The land grants of Marquez, San Mateo, and Cebolleta once covered the mountain and reached out into the mesas. The ancestors of the residents came to Mount Taylor to colonize the New Mexico Territory for the Spanish and Mexican governments. They were assigned land grants to settle the land, most of which was lost soon after the U.S. occupation of the territory in 1846.

"We're in a hell of a mess here," says Horacio Marquez, who lives in San Mateo on the west side of the mountain next to the new Gulf uranium mine. "Our land was supposed to be protected by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. What happened to the treaty, I don't know. They may call me a communist, but I say the United States took our land."

"Now we're just living in corrals," says Mariano Lucero of Marquez, explaining that many families had to leave the grant community because there wasn't enough land to support them.

Kerr-McGee, Exxon, United Nuclear, Bokum Resources, Sohio, and Gulf Oil now control most of the original land grant territory around Mount Taylor. The large ranches, like the L-Bar and Lee Ranches, that gained possession of the land grants at the turn of the century are also now mostly leased out to uranium companies. The leases of Chicano land gave 8 to 10% royalties, considerably less than royalties paid to neighboring land owners. The leases give the Chicano residents no community control of the mining projects and offer no environmental guarantees. With uranium mining and milling already underway, concern is increasing in regard to the social and environmental impacts resulting from the development.

"We accepted the money from the companies," says a resident of Cebolleta, "but we really didn't know about mining or the dangers of uranium."

## "BY 1985, SAN MATEO WILL BE GULF"

Ten years ago, the San Mateo people say white men began coming around, asking them if they wanted to lease their land for uranium exploration. The leases were described as being for investment purposes, with little chance of actual development.

"We didn't think anything would happen," remembers Nancy Brooks of San Mateo. "If there was any ore, it was too damn deep. We thought the contracts would give us a little extra money to repair our fences. Looking



## ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

## AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

via Rooseveltown, New York 13683  
(518)358-9531

back on it now, what happened here was no different than what Gulf and other companies are doing all over the world. They are buying off the peons with trinkets."

"My husband was a uranium miner," says Brooks, a member of the village's water association and a persistent critic of Gulf's San Mateo operation, "so we knew about the health problems for uranium miners. But we never thought about the impacts from uranium mining on the air and water quality."

Before Gulf came in 1974, the community never had any water problems. Now the town of 200 is plagued with difficulties with their water. In 1976, the community well went dry and then their irrigation system became polluted when a waste water pond from Gulf's mine construction spilled into the village's ditch. After months of negotiation, Gulf finally agreed to drill a new community well for San Mateo, but admitted no responsibility for the well failure.

In June 1979, the well that Gulf had drilled in 1976 had become muddy and unfit to drink. The San Mateo Legal Defense Fund issued an appeal to the governor of New Mexico for water and an investigation into the community's water difficulties. The group states, "the recent destruction of community wells is considered an obvious disruption to the stability of our pueblo. This environmental disaster has caused San Mateo people to alter traditional irrigation systems and to depend on outside sources for our most valuable resource — water."

San Mateo residents now drink water that is trucked in 25 miles from Grants because the wells have gone dry or become polluted. John Kelly, attorney for the resident group, said that Gulf has agreed to provide water for the community and to drill a new well. He said that though Gulf is admitting no cause and effect relationship between their mine dewatering and the well problems in San Mateo, "a pretty clear inference can be drawn from Gulf's agreement to provide the community water."

Each minute Gulf pumps 8,000 gallons of water out of their mine shaft to keep the mine tunnels dry. Under New Mexico law, the dewatering of mines is not regulated because the water is not used for any beneficial use. It is simply siphoned out of the mine and left to evaporate in the arroyos in the dry climate of New Mexico.

"They're taking water out of that mine like hell won't have it," observes Nancy Brooks. She and other San Mateo residents are concerned that the dewatering of Gulf and other uranium mines in the Grants Uranium Belt are lowering the water table.

The loss of water from the mine, which stands only a quarter of a mile from San Mateo, is not the only concern the people have for their environment. Rosalio Baca speaks for many San Mateo residents when expressing his fears that the radioactive pollution from Gulf's mine and mill will soon force the people to move.

"When I come home from work in the early morning, I can see the dust rising from the mine and blowing across the land," says Baca. "What really concerns me is the dust from the uranium ore that spreads over our elementary school that is right next to the mine. We recently have been told that our children will have to be bussed to Grants. First they tell us our children have to move, then they will start telling us that we will have to move too. If we're going to stay, we will need respirators."

"A piece of land here, a piece of land there, they are going to drive us out," says Ruma Baca. "If my neighbor sells her land to Gulf and I don't, they will put a radon gas vent in my backyard to force me out."

Gerald Baca, the son of Rosalio and Ruma Baca, returned to San Mateo this year from Los Angeles. He says, "I can't believe the changes in this place. We always used to sit by the fire at night before going to bed, but now the lights of the mine light up San Mateo like the middle of the city." Another common complaint is the noise from the mine that continues 24 hours a day.

Gerald Baca says, "the people didn't know what they were signing when they signed away their land to Gulf. They didn't know that Gulf would build a mine in the middle of San Mateo. By 1985," says Gerald Baca, "San Mateo will be Gulf."

"It's getting a little scary here," adds Ruma Baca. "This is a rural town that has never changed before. It was a quiet town with no traffic. Now big, big trucks come through the town. It will just never be the same as before. Gulf is here, and we're going to have to move out."

"Nobody knew what was happening," says Phillip Marquez, the current president of the town's water association. "Then, poof, the mine was here, changing everything."

Marquez says the coming of the uranium companies to Mount Taylor is simply a continuation of the land-grabbing that has characterized the history of this Chicano area.

"The people have always been poor here," explains



the young town leader. Our people never had jobs or money. All they had was their land. When they needed money for a few sacks of flour or for a new team of horses, they went to the ranchers like the Lees, who gave them some money but took their land for practically nothing.

"It's happening again with the energy development," says Marquez. "When the people signed the leases with the company, they really didn't know what they were signing away. They just needed the extra money."

The mountain lands of the old San Mateo Grant became part of the Cibola National Forest under the Forest Service, which has assumed ownership of many other land grants throughout New Mexico.

According to the provision of the Mining Act of 1872, mining companies can enter Forest Service lands without permission to explore for uranium and then apply for ownership of the lands if uranium is found. Gulf has patented 120 acres of the Mount Taylor land that formerly belonged to the land grant.

Attorney Kelly of the San Mateo Legal Defense Fund notes that other land grant communities are trying to recover old land grant lands. "Decade by decade the Forest Service and other public land agencies have encroached upon the land grant. It is not just a matter of recovering grant land, but a few hundred million dollars of uranium under the mountain."

Although the lessons of the past are there to see, the conditions of poverty and lack of information have once again put the Chicano people around Mount Taylor at a disadvantage.

"I don't know what is going to happen," remarks Horacio Marquez, one of the *ancianos* in San Mateo who signed his land away to Gulf and now has second thoughts about the decision. "Some good things like jobs are coming out of the mine, but we're finding out now there are a lot of bad things about uranium mining. What are we all going to do when we turn on our faucets and nothing comes out or when our homes start cracking from the blasting underground?"

"Gulf knows more about my land than I do," notes Marquez, who recently spoke against Gulf's treatment of San Mateo at an anti-nuclear demonstration by a coalition of Indian, Chicano, and white people. "The company never tells us what they are doing underground or if they will be mining under my land. They are the experts, and if you get a lawyer you find they also will be working with the company. Even the government is on the side of the company. The mountain land was stolen from us by the government and now the Forest Service is giving it away to Gulf. There is no justice for poor people even in the United States."

Marquez says he hadn't received any royalty money from the mine yet and has not been given any assurance by Gulf that they will be mining under his land.

The uranium boom in the Mount Taylor area is the final blow to the farming economy of the Chicano people here, says Horacio Marquez. "Water is the big problem because it's getting dryer and dryer from all the mining. And when they build the mill here, there will be a lot of radiation that could get into our irrigation water."

Nancy Brooks further comments: "The arrogance of Gulf is what really amazes me. It locates in the midst of a community, not caring what effect the mining will have on the people who live here. I don't know why anyone would pursue this type of development. It's wrong socially and environmentally. It's only good economically."

Charlie Sandoval, a spokesperson for the Herederos del Pueblo de San Mateo, complains that the Chicano workers are being discriminated against by the mining companies. "We Chicanos have never had people in top positions in the mines around here," says Sandoval. "We are the people who live here, but the companies bring in miners from Canada."

"We are finding how much is wrong with this country," states Sandoval. "I used to believe in democracy, but there's no democracy for poor people. The government cooperates with Gulf, and the companies are too big to stop."

**"MARQUES COULD HAVE GOTTEN BETTER ROYALTIES"**

On the other side of Mount Taylor, uranium

exploration and mine and mill construction has torn up much of the land around the village of Marquez. Until recently, Marquez could only be reached by a gutted dirt road. With its stone and adobe homes, Marquez looked like a village out of the last century, but now time has caught up with Marquez. A wide, graded road now leads directly from the interstate to Marquez to facilitate the travel of hundreds of uranium miners and construction workers.

Before the mining companies arrived, the village used the mountain stream for their irrigation and drinking water. The water is now gray, polluted by drilling chemicals, and unfit to drink.

"It's a shame but in five years there won't be any town left there," said one state official about Marquez. Its residents are angry with the way the uranium companies have carelessly destroyed so much of their land in search for uranium ore.

"They have scared all of the wildlife out of the canyon," says one Chicano miner from Marquez. "It used to be beautiful up there, but the companies have ruined it all."

While many residents are upset about the environmental destruction, there is also the knowledge that the mining construction has brought jobs to many small towns that were dying because all of the young people were leaving. "Our families had to leave here," explains Eddie Chavez, "but now there is work and we're glad to be home."

The closest mining operation to Marquez is the mine and mill construction of Bokum Resources, a New Mexico uranium company. The company's construction

#### ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

#### AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation  
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

has recently grinded to a halt after a successful battle by state environmental and anti-nuclear groups against Bokum's request for a state license for a water discharge permit for its mill.

The state Environmental Improvement Division (EID) refused to authorize Bokum to release waste water into a tailings pond because the pond would lay directly in the path of a mountain stream. Bokum said the stream could be diverted, but the state ruled that erosion and flood waters would eventually break through the diversion dam thereby causing the uranium water and tailings to spread downstream.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission told the state that Bokum's tailings pond location was unsuitable from a radiological and environmental point of view.

According to NRC guidelines, tailings ponds and piles should be sited on company land or on public trust land, not on leased land. Uranium tailings remain radioactive for tens of thousands of years. Both Gulf and Bokum plan to locate their tailings on leased land, thus leaving the contamination problem with the owners of the land after the companies mine out the area and leave.

The people of Marquez have not yet received any money from the promised royalties from mining, yet their village is now surrounded by uranium mine and mill construction. Now that the village is disrupted, many residents want the Bokum mill to go forward so they can see some personal return. Some of the residents say they feel cheated. Gilberto Marquez has mixed feelings about the upsurge in mining in his home town, but says "we could have gotten better royalties if we'd known what uranium was worth when we signed the leases."

The controversy over the location of the tailings pond has alerted the local people to the dangers of uranium mining.

"I have heard that the companies are supposed to build those radioactive piles away from where people live," remarks one Marquez resident, "but that pond Bokum is building is only three blocks away."

The EID ruling was a severe blow to Bokum, which is under contract to supply Long Island Lighting Company in New York with 10 million pounds of uranium to fuel LILCO's Shoreham nuclear power plant. The utility had loaned Bokum \$50 million to proceed with mill and tailings pond construction and Bokum had already spent much of the loan capital before the state slowed down their construction. Bokum has submitted a different plan for a tailings pond in a nearby site.

#### TOWARD A STATEWIDE ALLIANCE

Chicano communities in other parts of the state, seeing the problems caused by the nuclear industry in the Grants Uranium Belt, have taken strong positions against nuclear development in and around their lands.

On September 28, 29, and 30, a group of 600 Chicano, Indian and white people gathered in Florencia, New Mexico to protest the federal government's plan to dump all of the radioactive wastes from nuclear weapons development near this small Chicano town. The demonstration was organized by the Florencia Land Rights Committee, which says that the anti-nuclear fight in New Mexico has to involve the land rights concerns of the state's large numbers of Chicano and Indian people.

"Almost everyone in Florencia is against the nuclear waste site, even the city council," says Lauro Silva of the Land Rights Committee. Silva says the anti-nuclear sentiments of the Florencia residents and Chicanos throughout the state are a part of the larger land rights struggle. The anti-nuclear label is too narrow for a people facing racism and economic oppression in their daily lives, says Silva.

The site proposed for the nuclear dump was originally the land of Chicano farmers that the ranchers took," explains Silva. The residents of Florencia feel they have rights to the land and should have a say in determining what happens to it.

Other Chicano leaders agree with Silva that the current fight against the nuclear industry in New Mexico has united Indian, Chicano and white activists for the first time in the state's history. They're hopeful that the coalition that is now being built will also move to tackle the "bread and butter issues" in New Mexico.

"We are forming a statewide alliance that we will be able to count on later when we deal with other problems," says Silva.

Frank Sanchez from El Centro de la Familia says that New Mexicans are now coming together to oppose the federal government use of the state as a national sacrifice area. "We're going to send DOE out of this state," said Sanchez.

"The waste project is going to affect everyone," stressed Antonio Carrasco of the Florencia Land Rights Council. "We are here to preserve ourselves."

Early this summer, Atlantic-Richfield, which owns Anaconda Copper, announced that it had found recoverable uranium reserves in the northern county of Rio Arriba, one of the poorest counties in New Mexico. Over 75% of the people are Chicanos who live in small villages along the edges of the vast Carson National Forest. The neighboring county is Los Alamos, the site of the Los Alamos nuclear weapons laboratory and the wealthiest county in the state.

The news that Atlantic-Richfield (Arco) is planning to mine uranium in the Carson forest has sparked a county-wide movement to stop the mining plans. The group leading the opposition is La Colectiva, a grassroots organization of both white and Chicano people. El Partido de la Raza Unida of Rio Arriba County has actively supported the organizing and education work of La Colectiva.

In mid-September (September 8 & 9) at a rally near Canjilon, New Mexico, Chicanos in northern New Mexico let it be known that they were prepared to stop the expansion of uranium mining by any means necessary.



# Oglalas Sue For Black Hills

(On July 18, 1980, Oglala Sioux Tribal Attorney Mario Gonzalez filed suit in federal court in Rapid City, South Dakota, asking for \$11 billion in damages and restoration of the Black Hills to the Oglala people. Ninety-six defendants were named in the class action suit, including the State of South Dakota, the U.S. government, nine cities, seven counties and dozens of large landowners, industries and businesses. The suit seeks \$1 billion in damages for "hunger, malnutrition, disease and death" suffered by the Lakota people because of the loss of 7 million acres of land.

The suit also seeks \$10 billion for the loss to the Lakota people of non-renewable resources. In the following interview conducted for AKWESASNE NOTES by Tom Cook, Attorney Mario Gonzalez discusses the lawsuit.)

TC: Would you detail the legal strategy of this office as regards the Black Hills claim?

MG: You're referring to the complaint I just filed?

TC: Yes. As per the Tribal Council resolution.

MG: Let me just back up and explain a little bit of the history. In 1868, the Oglala Sioux Tribe and other tribes of the Sioux Indians negotiated a treaty with the United States government. This is the Treaty of 1868. Under that treaty, the present western one-half of South Dakota, west of the Missouri River, was set aside as the Great Sioux Indian Reservation. Under Article 12 of the same treaty, no future cessions would be valid unless signed by 3/4 of the adult male members of each tribe. In 1876, because of pressure to settle the Black Hills by gold miners and other non-Indian individuals, Congress circulated an agreement which they wanted the Sioux to sign which would have ceded the Black Hills.

The Sioux would not agree to that agreement in accordance with Article 12 of the treaty. The government only obtained 10% of the adult male member signatures. Despite Sioux objections, (the government) enacted that 1876 so-called agreement into law in 1877. From 1877 to the present time, the U.S. has occupied the Black Hills and has given homesteads out and treated it as if it belonged to the United States and its citizens. The Sioux have continually maintained that the land is theirs and will always remain theirs until they consent to the sale. But the Sioux have never been afforded a legal remedy to get the land back — the remedy they have always wanted.

In 1920 Congress afforded them a remedy in the Court of Claims by waiving its sovereignty and allowing the Sioux Nation to sue only for money damages and again specifically restricted the remedies so that the Sioux could not get land. The Court of Claims, in 1922, threw out that claim on the basis that it was a "moral question" which it could not decide. The Sioux continually claimed that the land was still theirs and it would remain theirs until they consented to a cession.

Finally, in 1946, Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act and again limited the remedy of the suit to only a money award and in fact even stated in 25 USC Sec. 70 u, any award of money would extinguish any future claims the Indians would have for land. Once the money is accepted under the Indian Claims Commission Act, the Indians relinquish all right and title they have let to their lands. The Sioux have been in court for approximately 30 years in the Indian Claims Commission Courts and recently in the U.S. Supreme Court. The ICC after years of litigation finally ruled that the Sioux Nation was entitled to only \$17.5 million in principle plus 5% simple interest for over one hundred years. That amount came to \$102.5 million. I understand that it is now approximately \$120 million because of the accrued interest since the award was given. The government appealed only the interest award to the Court of Claims, claiming that they could take Indian land that Indian land was not within the scope of the 5th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

They were relying on another case which came before the ICC — the Fort Berthold case. That case held that Indian title can be taken without just compensation, but once (title) is recognized by the U.S. then it came under the scope of the 5th Amendment and the government had to pay just compensation. The ICC ruled that the



**WE FEEL THAT MR. LAZARUS MADE A GRAVE MISTAKE IN STIPULATING AND CONCEDED THAT THE TAKING WAS VALID AND CONSTITUTIONAL BECAUSE THERE ARE IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES THAT CAN BE RAISED AND WE ARE GOING TO RAISE THEM.**



## ATTENTION READER!

This is the last issue of NOTES mailed free to our general mailing list. The next issue will be sent only to subscribers.

Subscribe to NOTES today. \$6.00 per year regular subscription, \$12.00 per year for NOTES Express subscription. See page 3 for more information.

## AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

via Roosevelttown, New York 13683

(518)358-9531

tribes were entitled to both principle and interest. The government appealed only the interest award up to the Court of Claims, and the Court of Claims refused to hear the merits, citing its 1922 opinion on the basis of *res judicata*, and collateral estoppel. In other words, the court said that you can only decide an issue once in the U.S. courts, we've decided this once in 1922 and we're not going to decide it again.

The tribe's attorneys went to the U.S. Congress and asked Congress to pass a bill which would waive the defenses of *res judicata* and collateral estoppel in the Court of Claims. Congress passed that bill in 1978. The Court of Claims heard the merits and ruled that the Sioux were entitled to just compensation in the amount of \$17.5 million plus 5% simple interest for over hundred years. The U.S. again appealed the Court of Claims decision to the U.S. Supreme Court and the Supreme Court, on April 30, 1980, affirmed the two lower courts. Our case becomes relevant because in 1977 the Oglala Sioux Tribe's attorneys contract with Arthur Lazarus, Jr. expired and to this date has not been renewed. In 1978, Congress afforded all the tribes a new remedy in the Court of Claims. Arthur Lazarus did not get his contract renewed prior to that time, or after that time, so therefore we are arguing in a case that we just filed in a federal district court in Rapid City that he had

no authority to bind us by stipulation in the Court of Claims or in the U.S. Supreme Court proceedings.

The Supreme Court decided that the case of *Lonewolf v. Hitchcock* had no applicability to our case. *Lonewolf* held that Congress can pass a law breaking a treaty and that the tribes could do nothing about it. It also held that the courts could not decide such questions because they were "political questions" which only Congress could decide. For many, many years we have been arguing that the Black Hills are our lands. Our claims attorneys and the federal government have been citing *Lonewolf v. Hitchcock* for the proposition that there is nothing that can be done to get the land back. But in the recent Supreme Court decision, the Supreme Court held that *Lonewolf v. Hitchcock* has no applicability to our case and cases such as the Fort Berthold case. We had recognized title to the Black Hills, and the *only* way the government could take the Black Hills was by condemnation under the 5th Amendment. And I want to emphasize the word *only*.

In the Supreme Court proceedings, the attorneys for the tribes, Arthur Lazarus in particular, argued and stipulated and conceded that the taking of the Black Hills was lawful and constitutional. The Supreme Court did not have to decide that issue. They didn't even consider the issue. Instead, they went to the second issue of whether the tribes had received just compensation, and they affirmed the two lower courts.

The Oglala Sioux tribe filed its suit claiming that Lazarus did not have authority to bind the tribes in the Supreme Court proceedings and we want to contest the taking issue. We feel that Mr. Lazarus made a GRAVE mistake in stipulating and conceding that the taking was valid and constitutional because there are important constitutional issues that can be raised and we are going to raise them. Among others, we are going to raise the issue that the taking was not for a public purpose, and



that is a constitutional requirement. We are arguing, among other things, that Congress cannot take Indian land and give it out to private homesteaders, mining interests, and other individuals. That is not a taking for public purposes. We are going to argue that the taking was without due process of law. We were not given an opportunity in 1877 to contest the validity of the taking and were thus deprived due process of law and thus the 1877 Act is null and void and never was a valid law.

In essence, the Black Hills Case boils down to this — the initial taking was unconstitutional and therefore we have been the rightful owners from 1877 until the present time. The taking by the government was null and void from the beginning. And now the government is trying to pay \$17.5 million plus 5% simple interest. By accepting this award, at this time we will be accepting the sale of the Black Hills. Since the government didn't get it lawfully in the beginning, it is still ours. By accepting the money now, we sell. That's what it boils down to. And we are not about to be duped into this kind of fraudulent conveyance. We are going to go out fighting for the Black Hills, we intend to fight like the Oglala Lakota did over 100 years ago, and if we lose, nobody will ever be able to accuse us of not fighting to try to retain our Black Hills.

We feel our case has a lot of merit, and that if the judges follow the rule of law, we are going to prevail. We will win this case.



# Western Shoshones Fight Feds

(from the Pueblo News, August, 1980)

An Albuquerque law firm is representing some 5,000 Western Shoshone traditionalists who would rather retain title to 18 million acres of ancient tribal homeland than accept a \$26 million award compensating them for extinguishment of their title by the Indian Claims Commission.

The Lueben, Hughes and Kelly firm also filed documents July 16 in the U.S. Court of Claims protesting the awarding of attorneys' fees to the firm which initially prosecuted the Shoshone's land claim. That firm, the well-known Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker firm in Washington, D.C., in association with Orville Wilson of Reno, Nev., failed to comply with Western Shoshone wishes and prosecuted the case without valid or proper authorization from tribal leaders, a brief prepared by attorney Tom Lueben alleges.

The issue involves a series of complicated arguments regarding an 1863 treaty, a land claim judgement based on a notion advanced by tribal attorneys, Shoshone title to the land had been extinguished by the treaty and announcement by the U.S. Air Force it planned to construct an MX missile project that would occupy nearly a third of the disputed land.

While it raises still more serious questions about U.S. government integrity and regard for its Indian wards, it also suggests tribal groups can successfully fight illegal encroachments.



The Western Shoshone, one of several Shoshone tribal groups, occupied much of Nevada, chiefly in the north and south central portions of the state. A century ago, the tribe, by federal government accounts, stood in the way of non-Indian travelers, the railroad and others needing access through their lands. A treaty was drawn up between the tribe and U.S. government in 1863 at Ruby Valley.

"The treaty basically established rights for the United States to have access to the tribe's land," Tom Lueben said. "But it said nothing about transferring land title."

The treaty did, in fact, give prospecting rights to U.S. citizens enabling them to establish settlements within Shoshone lands to support their mining activities. It also made provision for establishment of a federal reservation for the tribe at a later time, which subsequently never occurred.

Small settlements were eventually established, but in short time the U.S. government began claiming it had "acquired" all of the Shoshone lands on the basis of a self-invoked principle later called "gradual encroachment."

"This contention," wrote author-historian Vine Deloria, Jr., "is based on the strange theory that because it is theoretically possible for there to be enough settlers to homestead the whole area of the Shoshone lands (which was certainly not contemplated by either the U.S. or the Indians at the time of the signing of the treaty), the U.S. has somehow acquired this land."

To this day, much of the land is under the administration of the Bureau of Land Management, mostly for the benefit of non-Indian ranchers, Lueben said.

Lueben alleges that attorneys hired by the tribe to defend their lands misled it into asking for a compensation claim on the basis that Shoshone land title

had been extinguished "although they could not explain how or when." He also alleges that the claims attorneys, in several instances, created fictional groups purporting to represent the entire Western Shoshone Nation reentering attorneys' contracts and binding litigation decisions.

The Indian Claims Commission, using the "gradual encroachment" reasoning — "It's not a legal notion, but a political notion," Lueben said — fixed compensation for the lands at \$26 million and the "taking date" at July 1, 1872. The 18 million acres of Shoshone land was valued at the then going price of 15 cents an acre. Today it would generally draw at least \$100 an acre.

"Why the claims commission set the taking date in 1872 is what Shoshones have been asking themselves since the 1950s," Lueben said. Nothing happened in 1872, he said, that would have extinguished title to Western Shoshone lands.

Traditional Shoshones, Lueben said, have long opposed the claims settlement. Said a recent editorial in a publication of the Western Shoshone Sacred Lands Association, "The land is ours to live on, to provide a place for our people to rest, and to take its offerings with prayer — but not to sell."

"Regardless of what you have been told in the past, we will be selling all our rights that have been reserved for us in our treaty. We will never be able to get any of them back."

Lueben has numerous affidavits in his possession from Shoshone people, many of them elders, who witnessed early land claim proceedings. Most indicate the attorneys' initial support to fight for the recovery of lands illegally taken from the tribe, but then a wavering recommendation it settle for a money judgement.

Under its contract, the Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker firm, seeks \$2.6 million, 10 per cent of the judgement, in addition to \$46,000 in expenses.

Another twist in the issue involved two Western Shoshone women, Mary and Carrie Dann, who were charged by BLM, Lueben said, with trespassing for grazing their cattle and horses without a permit on so-called BLM lands. The women claimed the lands were Shoshone.

A U.S. District Court upheld the BLM and fined the women, holding the Indian Claims Commission finding that title to the land had been extinguished. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled otherwise, however, and raised questions as to "not whether the Indians had title, but whether the title that they had was in any way extinguished by the government."

Referring the case back to federal district court to decide that question, Federal Judge Bruce Thompson delayed his decision almost three years — until after the U.S. Court of Claims certified the final award of \$26 million for the Shoshone land claim on Dec. 6, 1979. Invoking a section of the Indian Claims Act, stating that payment of a claim would bar further claims or demands against the United States, Thompson held that, "Until the Indian Claims judgement became final, such aboriginal title had not been extinguished..." contrary to what tribal attorneys and the Indian Claims Commission contended for years.

Based on that ruling, Thompson absolved the Danns of trespassing at any time prior to Dec. 6, 1979.

Thompson's decision, setting the date of title extinguishment at Dec. 6, 1979, Lueben said, appears to be more than a little politically motivated, notwithstanding the fact that declaring the title good would give the Shoshones unquestioned ownership of a good portion of Nevada. Otherwise, the opinion "was pure giberish," Lueben said.

What also seems to emerge as a case of political expediency was last summer's announcement by Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus that the Interior Department would cease any further initiatives to settle the litigation surrounding the case. Two weeks later, the Air Force announced plans to locate a MX missile system that would occupy nearly a third of the Shoshone's land.

"It seems to be a conspiracy between the government and the claims lawyers," Lueben said, "a desperate effort to extinguish title principally for the benefit of

the Air Force."

Presently, Lueben said, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is attempting to formulate a distribution plan for paying Western Shoshone members their part of the land claim. A move is underway, led by Lueben's firm, to halt finalization of the plan, knowing that when payment is made, the tribe's chance to reclaim their land could be severely impaired.

Though Judge Thompson ruled otherwise, Lueben said, "Payment does not mean extinguishment of title, but it gives us serious problems."

The fact that the Dann sisters forced the courts to examine the Shoshone land use that for years had been successfully ignored is scored a major achievement. There is still much left undone.

"The Shoshones are in a desperate fight... but there's been no outcry," Lueben said. "People should be screaming."



"I was born and raised on this land," said Moises Morales, a resident of Canjilon, to the gathering of 400. "I don't want to see it go to hell like the big oil companies want to do with it."

"When I grew up," Morales continued, "there weren't any fences around here. Now everywhere we go we are cornered in. Anaconda has already destroyed much land in this state, and now they want this land too. We don't have much money but we are going to stop this uranium exploration because uranium mining is not good for the land or for our health."

Joe Gallegos, the director of the community clinic in El Rito, a small nearby community, said "I'm extremely supportive of economic development, but it has to be done properly. This form of development isn't safe and isn't the stable kind of development we need."

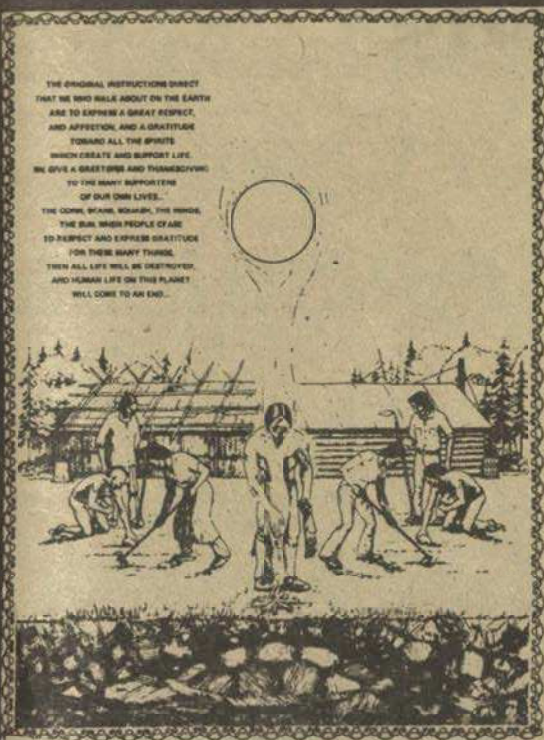
Gallegos said that uranium development would bring boom conditions to this economically depressed region, but that a bust would follow, leaving the people worse off than before.

"Northern New Mexico," said Gallegos, "is predominantly a rural area where many of the people depend on farming and ranching to supplement their incomes. The hazards involved in this type of mining will impact our air and our water and may mean that we won't be able to grow our corn and alfalfa any more. The farmers and the ranchers of the county are worried that they won't be able to graze their cattle on the forest lands after the mining starts."

Antonio DeVargas, the Chairperson of La Raza Unida in Rio Arriba, complained that the uranium development is a continuation of the history of colonization of the native people of the region by the U.S. government and industry. "They think that because the Indians and Chicanos live here they can make this land into a National Sacrifice Area for energy development, but they are wrong because we won't let them."







THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS 32



SPLINTERS OF THE TREE  
(A Full-Color poster)



CHIEF JOSEPH



FIRE CARRIER 13



DAN KATCHONGVA 15



SITTING BULL 6



GRANDMA HUNTER 8



# AKWESASNE NOTES POSTERS

Order yours...  
**TODAY!**



THE THINGS THAT ARE OURS 29



OUR IDEAS 16



CIRCLE OF LIFE 25



SHRINE OF HYPOCRISY 24

## ORDER FORM

PLEASE PREPAY ORDERS OF \$25.00 OR LESS

SHIP THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW TO:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

| HOW MANY | ITEM | PRICE | TOTAL |
|----------|------|-------|-------|
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |
|          |      |       |       |



## SKILLS & HOW TO

*American Indian Needlepoint Design*, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, \$1.50.

*Authentic Indian Designs.* by Maria Naylor, 700 illustrations. Paperback, \$6.00.

*Craft Manual of Native American Indian Footwear*, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. \$2.25

*Indian Herbology of North America,*  
by Alma R. Hutchens. \$11.00

*Indian Sign Language*, by William Tomkins. Signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. \$1.50.

# CHILDREN'S

*The Bird in the Sugarbush.* Excellent for children. \$1.25.

*Cheer Up Old Man*, by David Martinson. A story of an old man with a warm heart. Excellant for children. \$1.25.

*Great Tree and the Longhouse*, by Hazel W. Hertzberg. Teaching book on Iroquois culture. \$5.80.

*North American Indian Design  
Coloring Book*, by Paul Kennedy.  
Designed to show the richness of  
Indian art. \$1.50

*Tales from the Longhouse of British Columbia*, by Indian Children of British Columbia. \$1.95.

*Tales from the Igloo*, by Maurice Metayer. Twenty-two tales from the Inuit. \$3.95.

# PHILOSOPHY

*God is Red*, by Vine Deloria. Offers an alternative to Christianity through a return to Indian beliefs and concepts. \$4.95.

*Vanishing White Man*, by Stan Steiner.  
\$3.95.

*The Way*, by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. Good Native writings for young and old. \$2.45.



# LÉGAL

*Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, by Felix Cohen. Still the most important sourcebook in the field of Indian law. \$25.00 hardcover.

*Native Rights in Canada*, by Cumming and Mickenberg. To provide Native people of Canada and their legal advisors with the necessary comprehensive treatise on the law of aboriginal rights. \$8.95.

*Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties*, by Vine Deloria. An Indian Declaration of Independence. \$3.95.

# HISTORICAL

*Indians of the Northwest Coast*, by Philip Drucker. \$2.95.

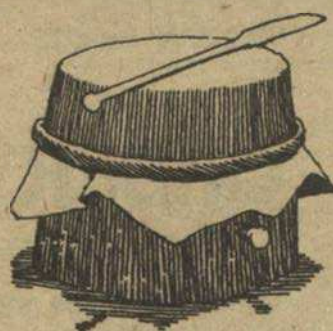
*Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, by Vine Deloria, Jr. From the coming of the white man to the present day. \$6.95.

*Indians of the Western Great Lakes*, by W. Vernon Kinietz. Based on letters and journals of European traders, missionaries, and officials who visited the Miami, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, and Chippewa before contact. \$2.95.

*Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee*, by  
Dee Brown. A true history of the west.  
\$2.50.

*Custer Died for your Sins*, by Vine Deloria. \$1.75.

*Invasion of America*, by Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. \$4.95.



## Native Colours

*A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, enhanced by the author's striking designs and illustrations. \$2.50.*

## A Message to All People: Hopi

*The Hopi Prophecy - a different sort of history from that in the textbooks. Illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.*

**Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador.**  
*An unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, edited by John Brandt, translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick. \$2.00.*

Turtle, Bear and Wolf  
Poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE  
NOTES



# Our Own Publications

## PAGANS IN OUR MIDST



*"Pagans" exposes the true nature of journalistic racism in the years 1885-1910. The focus is on the Onondaga, Mohawk, and Seneca Nations of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. \$6.95*

VOICES FROM VOLCANES



*This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in pictures and the words of the participants, which were recorded while the occupation was in progress. \$6.95*

*Tells the story and speech of a Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland, in the 1920s, to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. 75*

